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ESSAYS,

OR

DISCOURSES,

SELECTED FROM

THE WORKS OF FEYJOO,

AND

TRANSLATED FROM THE SPANISH,

BY

JOHN BRETT, ESQ.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

LONDON,

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CONTENTS

OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

THE VOICE OF THE PEOPLE. Page 1
VIRTUE AND VICE. p. 27
EXALTED AND HUMBLE FORTUNE. p. 61
THE MOST REFINED POLICY. p. 107
THE MACHIAVELIANISM OF THE ANCIENTS. p. 161
AMBITION IN SOVEREIGNS. p. 221
THE VALUE OR SUPERIOR EXCELLENCE OF NOBILITY. WITH SOME REMARKS ON THE POWER OR INFLUENCE OF HIGH BLOOD. p. 257
THE SEMBLANCE OF VIRTUE; OR, VIRTUE IN APPEARANCE. p. 291

THE TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

THE Author of the following Diſcourſes was a Spaniard, and a dignified clergyman of the Church of Rome, high in rank, and much reſpected as an eccleſiaſtic; but was not leſs eſteemed for his candour and liberality of ſentiment, than admired for his almoſt univerſal learning and extenſive knowledge. The Tranſlator has it not in his power to give ſo particular and ſatisfactory an account of this eminent man as he could wiſh; but the Reader will find in the Fourth Eſſay of the Second Volume, a ſummary one given of himſelf, in which he

tells us where he was born, how he was educated, and where he paſſed the greateſt part of his life; how he paſſed it, is pretty clear from his Writings, which manifeſt, that he muſt have employed a very large portion of it in ſtudy. When I firſt entered upon this undertaking, I had no thoughts of tranſlating ſo many of the Author's Eſſays as I was afterwards tempted to do; the ſubject matter of them, in which I found great pleaſure, exciting me to proceed; and indeed, I was alſo flattered and encouraged to go on, by the expectation, that my labours in this reſpect, would afford agreeable amuſement, and furniſh uſeful inſtruction to many of my countrymen. After I had tranſlated as many Eſſays, as I conjectured would make Four Volumes in Octavo, I thought it would be neceſſary to prefix to them, a more enlarged Preface, than that which appeared at the head of the firſt four; and as I have taken the liberty to omit ſome parts of thoſe Eſſays which I have tranſlated, I thought it would be right to ſay ſomething, by way of aſſigning my reaſons and motives for ſo doing; which are briefly theſe: That the parts left out, appeared to me, to be either confined, or applicable only to the

affairs

affairs and prejudices of Spain; or elſe, that they were points of ſpeculation, which the world at large, might not conſider as matters of importance. I have alſo ventured to omit ſuch things, as were relative only to religious controverſy, as in this ſpecies of diſputation, men are apt to loſe that candour and temper, which they have been remarkable for preſerving in all other caſes, and upon all other occaſions. A ſtrong example of the truth of this remark, would have been manifeſted in father Feyjoo, had I tranſlated that part of the Firſt Eſſay, where he ſpeaks of the Proteſtant Writers; whom he mentions in ſuch language, and with a degree of warmth and acrimony, which he afterwards in many places of his Works, reprehends as improper, and illiberal. I have likewiſe taken the liberty to curtail here and there a deſcription which appeared to me rather ſuperfluous, or too redundant; and in the Apology for Perſons who have been famous in Hiſtory, I have omitted the characters, of the queens Brunequilda and Fredegunda, of both whom, I imagined the Reader would find as much ſaid as he would be deſirous of knowing, in ſome of the

other Eſſays of theſe Volumes. Nor have I tranſlated from this Diſcourſe, what is ſaid of the empreſs Maria of Arragon, the marquis of Villena, and William le Croix de Gevres. The accuſation which had been brought againſt the firſt of theſe three, appearing to me, only intereſting to the ſubjects of Spain: thoſe of Magic againſt the ſecond, to ſavour of ſpite and bigotry; and thoſe againſt the laſt, to be the effect of pique and reſentment, on account that he, although not a native of Spain, had been promoted to the archbiſhopric of Toledo. In the Tranſlation of the Phyſical Paradoxes, I have likewiſe omitted ſome articles; for inſtance, ſuch, as whether heavy bodies, if they could be forced in a perpendicular direction to a great diſtance from the earth, would ever revert back to it again; and alſo that, of whether gold is produced by the ſun; and another, which treats of the poſſibility of reſtoring by natural means, ſight to a blind perſon; as all theſe appeared to me, things rather ſpeculative than intereſting. In the Tranſlation of the Moral and Political Paradoxes, I have alſo omitted the following articles: that which charges the Spaniſh

laws

laws with being too favourable to perſons of tender years; that which cenſures the great number of holidays which are obſerved in Spain; that which treats of whether the offspring of a human father and a brute mother, ſhould be baptized under certain conditions and reſtrictions; and that, which queſtions whether Chriſtian burial ſhould be allowed to a perſon who is guilty of ſuicide. The firſt of theſe appeared to me applicable to the Spaniſh laws only; and the ſecond, calculated to correct the abuſe that is made of the numbers of feſtivals in moſt Roman Catholic countries, and particularly in Spain, and which ſeems intended to point out the great loſs they occaſion to a ſtate. The other two I conſidered as rather abſtruſe points, and ſuch as would afford very little amuſement or inſtruction to thoſe who may peruſe this work. Thus much for the omiſſions; but if the reader, who underſtands Spaniſh, was to turn to the Eſſays in their original language, he would find ſomething added to them; I therefore thought it would be proper to mention, that all thoſe additions, except the one that is made to the compariſon between ancient and modern muſic, are taken from the ninth, or ſupplemental volume to the Theatrico Critico, and are added in

ſuch places as the author there directs. The addition to the compariſon between antient and modern muſic, is taken from the Eſſay on the Reſurrection of the Arts; and all that is ſaid on muſic in that Eſſay, is interwoven into this diſcourſe, it having appeared to me to be very appoſite to, and indeed, what one might not improperly call a part of the ſubject of it. There is nothing more that occurs to me as neceſſary to add to this preface, except it is, that I have ſelected theſe Eſſays from nearly all the volumes of the author's works, and that, to the beſt of my judgment, thoſe I have choſen are ſome of the moſt intereſting of them; and ſuch, as I thought would be the moſt entertaining, and the moſt inſtructive to the generality of mankind. How judiciouſly I have made this choice, and how well I have executed the tranſlation, muſt be left to others to determine; and ſhall only obſerve further, that I have done both the one and the other, to the beſt of my diſcernment and abilities; and although the tranſlation is by no means a literal one, I will venture to declare, that it contains the true ſenſe and ſentiment of the author, which, as well as my learning and talents

lents would enable me to imitate ſo eminent a man as Feyjoo, I have endeavoured to expreſs in nearly the ſame language, I imagine he would have made uſe of, if he had been a native of this country, and had written his works originally in Engliſh. For the reſt, the nature, ſcope, and deſign of the author's writings, will be beſt explained by his own prologue, which follows next in order.

PROLOGUE.

TO THE READER.

MY good reader, whoever you are, I have little expectation that you will be very propitious to this my undertaking, from a ſuppoſition, that you probably are already preoccupied in favour of many of the opinions which I combat; and I ought not to have ſuch confidence, either in my perſuaſive powers, or in your docility, as to promiſe myſelf an early conqueſt of your prejudices, or a ſudden attachment of your approbation. From hence it may follow, that ſtiff in your old opinions, you will condemn my ſentiments, as falſe and

injurious. Father Malebranche ſaid juſtly, that thoſe authors who write with an intention to baniſh common pre-poſſeſſions, ſhould always conclude, that the public will receive their works with diſguſt. Whenever it happens that truth becomes triumphant, the victory advances by ſuch ſlow paces, that the author while he lives, only enjoys the vain expectation, that his tomb will one day be crown'd with laurels. A ſtriking example of this truth, was ſeen in the famous William Hervey, againſt whom, on account of his noble diſcovery reſpecting the circulation of the blood, the phyſicians of that time declaimed furiouſly, though all the profeſſors of the ſcience at preſent, venerate him as an oracle. In his life-time they loaded him with injuries; now he is dead they would place his image on the altars.

I ſhould here endeavour to win your mind to an admiſſion of my maxims, and take the opportunity of ſhewing by various examples, how involv'd in error, are many of the moſt eſtabliſhed opinions; but this being the intire object of my firſt diſcourſe, I muſt refer you thither, for the peruſal of my arguments on this head, I having plac'd that diſcourſe in the front, as a neceſſary preliminary to this volume; but if you are not to be perſuaded, and are

obſtinately bent on remaining a conſtant partizan of the Voice of the People, in the name of goodneſs purſue your courſe. If you are wiſe, I ſhall treat you liberally, and we ſhall not become angry with each other; for liberality will reprehend the ſentiment, without ill uſing the author; but if you are ſimple, you, together with that infirmity, will not fail to poſſeſs the quality of inexorable alſo. I know very well, there is not a more rigid cenſurer of a book, than a man who is incapable of dictating a letter. Such people may ſay what they pleaſe of me, and treat my opinions as excentric, becauſe they are out of the common road; but let us agree in a preliminary, to wit, that if they are to take the liberty of calling me extravagant, I may be allowed to ſay they are ignorant.

I ought, however, to remove ſome objections, that will naturally occur in reading this volume. The firſt is, the diſcourſes not being diſtributed in determin'd claſſes, and not following in a regular progreſſion, the faculties or matters to which they belong. To this I anſwer, that though I at firſt deſign'd ſuch an arrangement, I ſoon diſcover'd the purſuing it to be impracticable; for having propoſed to myſelf ſo vaſt a field in the Theatrico Critico, I ſaw that many

many of the matters which would be touch'd upon in it, were incomprehenſible under a determin'd faculty; either becauſe they do not belong to any one in particular, or becauſe, they participate equally of many. Beſides, there are a number, every one of which, treats ſolely of ſome particular faculty, without any other having to do with the ſubject matter. On phyſical ſubjects only, within which walk the errors of the vulgar are infinite, you may write as many diſcourſes as are capable of making a ſeparate volume; but I am more diſpoſed to divide them in the different volumes, becauſe by ſo doing, each will afford a more agreeable variety. By this means, although every volume with reſpect to the matter, will appear ſtrictly ſpeaking, a miſcellany, the deſign of attacking common errors will be uniformly preſerved. The formal object will always be the ſame, the materials muſt neceſſarily be compoſed of great variety, and ſhould be diſtributed.

I may perhaps be blamed, for giving the name of errors to all the opinions I controvert. The complaint would be juſt, if I did not remove the odium of the term by an explanation. I ſay then, that error in the ſenſe I here take and uſe it, ſignifies no more than an opinion that I look upon as falſe, abſtracted from, and without

my determining upon the probability or improbability of it.

Neither by the term common errors, do I mean to ſignify, that thoſe I encounter are incident to all mankind, it is ſufficient to apply this term to them, if they are admitted by the generality of the vulgar, or lead in their train, a more than ordinary number of the literati. This muſt be underſtood with a reſervation, that I don't mean to introduce myſelf as a judge in thoſe queſtions, which are mooted in various ſchools, eſpecially ſuch as regard Theological points: for what advances can I make on thoſe ſubjects, which have been ſtudied and conſidered with the moſt intenſe reflection, by ſo many men of eminence? or who am I, to have ſuch confidence in my own ſtrength, as to fancy that I am capable of entering the liſts, where ſo many giants engage? In matters purely phyſical, this objection need not detain me; for thoſe of this ſpecies which are treated of in other ſchools are very few, and thoſe few with little or no reflection.

I may be alſo blamed, when I am to touch upon many things which are mere matters of faculty, for having wrote in the Caſtilian Idiom: as an anſwer to this, it will be ſufficient to reply, that

that no other reaſon is neceſſary to be given for ſo doing, than that I know of no reaſon againſt it. I do not deny, that there are truths, which ſhould be hid from the vulgar, whoſe weakneſs expoſes them to more danger by being informed, than they would be expoſed to by remaining in ignorance; but this argument would militate with equal ſtength, againſt thoſe truths going forth to the world in Latin, there being a great number of vulgar, among thoſe who underſtand that language, and it paſſes eaſily from them, to thoſe who underſtand no other than their mother tongue.

I am ſo far from having the leaſt intention to communicate pernicious matter to the public, that the principal deſign of this work, is to undeceive them in many points, which by being admitted as true, would be very prejudicial to them; nor is it reaſonable, that a benefit which can be made univerſal, ſhould not be enjoyed by every one.

But do not from what I have advanced, conclude, that I have great confidence this work will be of eminent utility; for although my ſole object is to propoſe the truth, it is poſſible, that in ſome inſtances I may want penetration to diſcern it, and in others, powers *to perſuade it*; but I can with confidence aſſure you,

you, that I write nothing, but what is conformable to my real ſentiments. I look upon propoſing, or attempting to prove ſingular opinions, only with a view of diſplaying a perſon's ingenuity, as puerile and pedantic, and conſider it as an employment, unworthy of every honeſt man. In converſation, theſe things may be tolerated by way of amuſement, but the introducing them into writings, is an abuſe, and a deceit upon the public. The noble uſe of reaſon, is to penetrate and enforce truths; the knack of puzzling others with ſophiſtries, is the meaneſt faculty of the human underſtanding. Spiders, which in the brute creation are looked upon as vile, fabricate fine, but trifling threads; among mankind, none fabricate fine and firm ones, but excellent artiſts; the firſt, are emblems of ſubtle and ſophiſtical works, the others of ingenious and ſolid ones.

The common errors which I attack, do not always occupy the whole of the diſcourſe in which I treat of them, and ſometimes, many are comprehended in one and the ſame; either becauſe they relate immediately to the matter of it, or becauſe in purſuing the thread of the principal ſubject, they are found in the way, or fall

in

in as it were by incidence. This method appeared to me the moſt convenient, as by writing a ſeparate diſcourſe upon every opinion I encounter, there being much to be ſaid on ſome heads, and but little on others, there would reſult a compound or maſs of parts extremely unequal.

I expect many attacks, eſpecially with relation to two or three of the diſcourſes in this book, and when ſome of my friends apprize me, that I ſhall be loaded with injuries and abuſe; I reply, that ſuch treatment will only ſerve to convince me more firmly, of the truth of what I have written; it being certain, that he is doubtful of his own ſtrength, who attacks with unfair weapons. If they oppoſe me with arguments, I will reply to them; if with ſneers and ſcurrility, I ſhall inſtantly allow myſelf vanquiſh'd, as that is a mode of engaging, in which I never exerciſed myſelf. Adieu.

THE

VOICE of the PEOPLE.

THAT ill-underſtood maxim, that God explains himſelf in the Voice of the People, authorizes the commonalty to triumph over ſound judgment, and erect to themſelves a tribunitial authority, capable of oppreſſing, and bearing down the dignity of literature. This is an error that is pregnant with an infinity of others, becauſe, by eſtabliſhing the poſition, that the voice of the multitude is the rule of truth, all the extravagances of the vulgar, would be venerated as inſpirations of heaven. This conſideration excites me to attack this error the firſt, upon a ſuppoſition, that by exploding this, I ſhall ſubdue many enemies in one, or at leaſt, that it will be more eaſy to expunge other errors, by removing the patronage, which they recive from the common voice in the eſtimation of unwary men.

SECT. I.

I. *Æſtimes judicia, non numeres*, ſaid Seneca, (Epiſt. 39). The value of opinions, ſhould be computed by the weight, not by the number of votaries. The ignorant, though numerous, are ignorant ſtill; what benefit then is to be expected from their determinations? It is rather probable, that the multitude, by increaſing the partizans of error, would increaſe obſtacles to the advancement of truth. If it was a barbarous ſuperſtition in the Moloſſians, an antient people of Epirus, to conſtitute the trunk of an oak for the organ of Apollo; would it be leſs ſo, to concede this privilege to the whole Dodonean Wood? and if from a ſtone, unleſs modelled by the hand of an artiſt, you could not produce the image of Minerva, the ſame impoſſibility would continue, although you add to it all the rocks of a mountain. One wiſe perſon, will always diſcern more than a croud of ſimpletons, as one eagle can better ſee the ſun, than an army of owls.

II. Pope John the XXIII. being once aſked what was the thing moſt diſtant from truth, anſwered, the opinion of the vulgar. The ſevere Phocion was ſo firmly of this ſentiment, that obſerving, while he was once making an oration in Athens, the people with one conſent raiſe their voices

voices in his applauſe, asked his friends who were near him, what miſtake he had been guilty of, as he was perſuaded, the blind populace were incapable of applauding any thing but abſurdities. I don't approve theſe rigorous deciſions, nor can I conſider the populace, as the preciſe antipodes to the hemiſphere of truth; they are ſometimes right, but this generally ſpeaking, is either the reſult of chance, or the effect of borrowed reflection. Some wiſe man, I don't remember who, compared the vulgar to the moon, on account of their inconſtancy: the compariſon however was juſt, as they never ſhine by the power of their own lights. *Non conſilium in vulgo, non ratio, non diſcrimen, non diligentia*, ſaid Tully. (Orat. pro Planc.) There is not in this vaſt body, any native illumination, wherewith can be diſcerned the true from the falſe; the light is all borrowed, and reflected ſuperficially; for by reaſon of its opacity, the rays cannot penetrate through it.

III. The public is an inſtrument of various ſounds, which (unleſs it happens by ſome rare accident) till adjuſted by a ſkilful hand, is hardly ever in tune. Epicurus was dreaming, when he imagined, that infinite atoms impelled by chance, and wandering through the air, could, without the interpoſition of a ſupreme will, form this admirable ſyſtem of the globe. Peter Gaſſendi, and

the other modern refiners upon Epicurus, added to this vulgar confuſion, a diſpoſition and regulation, executed by the divine hand; but even ſuppoſing this, it will be difficult for us to comprehend, by what means, the rudeneſs of matter was poliſhed, and the earth rendered capable of producing the moſt trifling plant. The vulgar of mankind, differ but little from the vulgarity of the atoms; and as from the caſual concurrence of our ſentiments, there would hardly ever reſult a regular ſeries of eſtabliſhed truths, it becomes neceſſary, that the Supreme Being ſhould ſuperintend the buſineſs. But how muſt this be done? Why by employing learned and wiſe men as his ſubalterns, and uſing them as a ſecondary means, to diſpoſe and organize ſuch material entities.

IV. Thoſe who aſcribe ſo great authority to the common voice, don't foreſee a dangerous conſequence, that treads cloſe on the heels of their tenet; for if the deciſion of what is truth, was to be confided to the plurality of voices, you ſhould look for ſound doctrine in the Alcoran of Mahomed, and not in the Goſpel of Chriſt; it being certain, that the Alcoran would have more votes in its favour than the Goſpel. I am ſo far from being of opinion, that ſuch a queſtion ſhould be decided by numbers, that I think it ought to be determined the reverſe, becauſe in the nature of things,

things, error occupies a much larger field than truth, and the vulgar of mankind, as the loweſt and moſt humble portion of the rational world, may be compared to the element of earth, whoſe bowels contain little gold, but much iron.

SECT. II.

V. Whoever conſiders, that there is but one path which leads to truth, and that thoſe which lead to error are infinite, will not be ſurpriſed, that mankind who travel by ſo dim a light, ſhould in the bulk go aſtray. The conception which the underſtanding forms of things, may be compared to ſquares, which can only be regular one way, but may be irregular in an infinite number of ways. Every body, according to its ſpecies, can, by but one mode, be produced rightly organized, but may be produced a monſter by an infinite number. Even in the heavens, there are but two fixed points to direct the navigator; all the others are changeable. There are likewiſe two fixed points in the ſphere of the human underſtanding, to wit, revelation, and demonſtration: the reſt is a group of opinions, that dance about, and are made to follow one another, according to the caprice of doubtful and inferior comprehenſions. Whoever does not obſerve attentively theſe two points, or at leaſt one of them, according to the hemiſphere in

which he navigates; that is, the firſt in the hemiſphere of grace, and the ſecond in the hemiſphere of nature, will never arrive at the port of truth: for as in very few parts of the terraqueous globe, the magnetic needle points true to the poles; but in moſt places has more or leſs degrees of variation; even ſo in very few parts of the world, does the human underſtanding attain the pole of its direction; the pole of revelation, is perceived directly, in only two places, Europe, and America; in all other parts, it has more or leſs degrees of declination: in the heretical countries, the needle is much warped, more in the Mahometan countries, and more ſtill in the idolatrous ones. The pole of demonſtration, is obſerved only by the ſmall community of mathematicians, and even within that ſmall circle, is affected with declination.

But what neceſſity is there for beating round the world, to diſcover, that in various regions, the common opinion is the reverſe of truth; even among the people who were called God's people, ſo far many times was the voice of the people from being the voice of God, that there was not the leaſt ſemblance between them: no ſooner was the voice of the people in uniſon with the divine voice, than it immediately changed to the greateſt diſſonance. Moſes propounded to them the laws which God had given him; and all the people

cried

cried with one conſent, "What the Lord has commanded let us do:" how beautiful was the ſound of conſonance between the two voices! but no ſooner did the chapel-maſter Moſes, who had put them in tune, turn his back, than the ſame congregation, after obliging Aaron to make two idols, lifted up their voice, and ſaid, "Theſe are the true Gods to whom we owe our liberty:" what horrible diſſonance!

VII. Circumſtances of this ſort occurred often; but the caſe of their petitioning Samuel to give them a king, has ſomething particular in it. The voice of God promulged by the mouth of the Prophet, diſſuaded them from deſiring a king; but how diſtant was the voice of the people from concording with the divine organ, for they once and again, repeat their intreaties to have a king; and on what do they found their requeſt? Why upon other nations having kings. In this inſtance, there are two things which are ſtriking and remarkable; the one is, that though this requeſt was made by the voice of the whole people, it was erroneous; the other is, that it's being qualified by the authority of all other people, does not amend, or exempt it from error. To ſum up the whole, the voice of the people of Iſrael, concorded with the voices of all other people, and it's being in conſonance with that of all thoſe other people,

made it diſſonant to the divine voice. Away with thoſe then, who would govern us by common cries, upon the foundation, that the voice of the people is the voice of God.

SECT. III.

VIII. I was once of opinion, that in one ſpecial inſtance, the public voice was infallible; that is to ſay, in the approbation, or reprobation, of particular people. It appeared to me, that he of whom the public at large entertained a good opinion, was certainly a good man, and that he was certainly wiſe, who was generally allowed to be ſo, and ſo on the contrary; but upon reflection, I found that in this inſtance alſo, the popular opinion is liable to miſtake. Phocion, as he was once reprehending the people of Athens with ſome aſperity, was accoſted by his enemy Democritus in theſe words, "Have a care what you ſay, for they will murder you for talking to them in this manner:" "And do you take care, anſwered Phocion, or they will murder you likewiſe, for pretending to paſs your judgment." This ſentence ſhewed, that he thought the populace hardly ever right in their deciſions, with regard to people's qualities or characters. The hard fate of Phocion himſelf, confirmed in a great meaſure this ſentiment, becauſe he was afterwards put to death as an enemy to his

his country, by the furious populace of Athens, though he was the beſt man, which at that time could be found in all Greece.

IX. An ignorant man having paſſed for a wiſe one, and a wiſe one being reputed a fool, are things which have been frequent in many places; and applicable to this, is the pleaſant event which happened to Democritus with his countrymen the Abderites. This philoſopher, who had long meditated on the follies and vanities of mankind, was accuſtomed, when any occurrence brought theſe reflections to his mind, to burſt out into immoderate fits of laughter. The Abderites having remarked this, although they before eſteemed him a very wiſe man, concluded that he was gone mad; and they wrote to Hippocrates who flouriſhed at that time, and earneſtly intreated that he would come and cure him. The good old man ſuſpected how the matter ſtood, to wit, that the people were diſordered, and not Democritus, and concluded, that what they miſtook for madneſs, was rather a ſymptom of great wiſdom. In a letter to his friend Dionyſius, informing him of his being ſent for by the Abderites, and the account they had given him of Democritus's madneſs, he expreſſes himſelf to this effect, *Ego vero neque morbum ipſum eſſe puto, ſed immodicam doctrinam, quæ revera non eſt immodica, ſed ab idiotis putatur*; and

writing to Philopemnes, he ſays, *Cum non inſaniam, ſed quandam excellente mentis ſanitatem vir ille declaret.* Afterwards, Hippocrates viſited Democritus, and from a long converſation which he had with him, was ſatisfied, that his laughter was founded in wiſe and ſolid morality, the juſtneſs of which, he was convinced of and admired. Hippocrates, in a letter he wrote to Damagetus, gives a particular account of this converſation, and there may be ſeen his encomiums upon Democritus; among other things, he ſays, Democritus ſo far from being mad, is the wiſeſt man I ever met with; I was much inſtructed by his converſation, and rendered more capable of inſtructing others: *Hoc erat illud, Damagete, quod conjectabamus. Non inſanit Democritus, ſed ſuper omnia ſanit, et nos ſapientiores effecit, et per nos omnes homines.*

X. Theſe letters are to be found in the works of Hippocrates, and are well deſerving of being read, eſpecially that to Damagetus; and from them may be inferred, not only how much the public at large are capable of being miſtaken in their opinion of an individual; but alſo, with how little reaſon, many authors paint Democritus as a half-mad ridiculous perſon; for nobody diſputes the judgment and wiſdom of Hippocrates, who, after treating ſeriouſly and at large on the ſubject, gives ſo oppoſite a teſtimony in his diſcuſſion of the

matter, he declares that in his judgment, Democritus was the moſt learned and wiſe man in the world; and in a letter of Hippocrates to Democritus, he recognizes him for the greateſt natural philoſopher upon earth: *Optimum naturæ, ac mundi interpretem te judicavi.* Hippocrates was then grown old, for in the ſame letter he ſays, *Ego enim ad finem medicinæ perveni, etiam ſi jam ſenex ſim*; and conſequently, capable of forming a good judgment of the abilities of Democritus.

I am diſpoſed to think, that the accuſation which ſome authors bring againſt Ariſtotle is a probable one, that is, that he did not fairly lay open to the world the opinions of other philoſophers who preceded him, to the end, that by diſcrediting all thoſe, he might eſtabliſh the ſovereignty of his own doctrine, and that he did by them, as the great Lord Bacon ſays the Ottoman Emperors do by their brothers, put them all to death, that they may reign in ſecurity.

SECT. IV.

With regard to virtue and vice, the inſtances of the one of them having been miſtaken by the public for the other in particular people, are ſo numerous, that hiſtory ſtumbles upon them, at almoſt every ſtep; nothing can illuſtrate this more evidently,

evidently, than the greateſt impoſtors the world has produced, having paſſed for repoſitories of the ſecrets of heaven. Numa Pompilius, introduced among the Romans, whatever policy and religion he thought fit, by means of the fiction, that all he propoſed was dictated to him by the nymph Egeria. The Spaniards fought blindly againſt the Romans, under the banners of Sertorius, he having made them believe, that through a white doe, which he artfully made uſe of, and had trained for his purpoſe, he received by occult means, all ſorts of information, which was communicated to the doe by the goddeſs Diana. Mahomed perſuaded a great part of Aſia, that Heaven had ſent the Angel Gabriel to him as a Nuncio in the ſhape of a dove, which he had taught to put its bill into his ear. Moſt heretical opinions, although ſtained with manifeſt impurities, were reputed in many places, to proceed from the venerable archives of the divine myſteries.

XII. We have even ſeen ſuch monſters, engendered in the boſom of the Roman church. In the eleventh century, Tranquilenus, a man given openly to all kinds of debauchery, was venerated as a ſaint by the people of Antwerp, and to ſuch a pitch did they carry their adoration, that they preſerved as a relic the water in which he had waſhed himſelf. In the republic of Florence, where

where the people were never thought rude, or uncultivated, Francis Jeronimo Sovonarola, a man of prodigious genius, and great ſagacity, was many years reſpected as a ſaint, and a perſon endued with the ſpirit of prophecy; he made the people believe, that his political predictions were divine revelations, though they were founded on ſecret advices which he received from France, and notwithſtanding many of thoſe predictions were proved falſe, ſuch as the ſecond coming of Charles the Eighth into Italy, the recovery of John Pico de Mirandola from a fit of ſickneſs, of which he died two days afterwards, &c. And although he was publicly burnt on the parade at Florence for an impoſtor, ſtill, all was not ſufficient to eradicate his deceptions from the minds of many people; for not only the heretics venerate him as a heavenly man, and conſider him as a forerunner of Luther, on account of his vehement declamations againſt the court of Rome, but ſome Catholics were his panegyriſts likewiſe, among whom Marcus Antonius Flaminius excelled all the others, by the following beautiful though falſe epigram.

Dum fera flamma tuos, Hieronyme, paſcitur artus,
Religio ſacras dilaniata comas
Flevit, et O, dixit, crudeles, parcite, flammæ,
Parcite; ſunt iſto viſcera noſtra rogo.

XIII.

XIII. But what has been the moſt monſtrous in theſe ſort of caſes is, that ſome churches have celebrated, and even worſhiped as ſaints, perverſe men, who died ſeparated from the Roman communion. The church of Limogines, addreſſed for a long time in a direct prayer (which prayer exiſts at this day in the antient breviary of that church) Euſebius Cæſarius, who lived and died in the Arian hereſy, they having, as is moſt probable, miſtaken him at firſt, for Euſebius Biſhop of Cæſarea, in Cappadocia, who was the ſucceſſor of Saint Baſil; whereas the man we have now been mentioning, was Biſhop of Cæſarea in Paleſtine; I am very well aware, ſome authors aſſert, that at the council of Nice, he conformed to the Catholic faith, in which he remained ſteady ever after, but there are ſo many teſtimonies to contradict this, and among the reſt his own writings, that what is ſaid in his defence ſeems void of all probability. The church of Turin venerated a thief as a martyr, and erected an altar to him, which St. Martin deſtroyed, after having convinced them of their error; this is related by Sulpicius in his Life of St. Martin.

SECT. V.

XIV. To excite a total diſtruſt of the Vox Populi, you need only reflect upon the extravagant errors,

errors, which in matters of religion, policy, and manners, have been ſeen, and may ſtill be ſeen authorized, by the common conſent of whole bodies politic. Cicero ſaid, there was no tenet, though ever ſo wild and abſurd, that had not been maintained by ſome philoſopher or other: *Nihil tam abſurdum dici poteſt, quod non dicatur ab aliquo philoſophorum.* (lib. 2. de Divinat.) I will venture with greater reaſon to affirm, there is no extravagance, however monſtrous, which has not been patronized by the uniform conſent of ſome country.

XV. Things which the light of natural reaſon repreſents as abominable, have in this, and the other region, paſſed, and ſtill do paſs, as lawful. Lying, perjury, adultery, murder, and robbery: in ſhort, all vices have obtained, and do obtain, the general approbation of ſome nations. The Herules, an ancient people, whoſe ſituation cannot be exactly aſcertained, though they dwelt near the borders of the Baltic Sea, were uſed to put to death all their ſick and old people, nor would they ſuffer the wives to ſurvive their huſbands. The Caſpians, a people of Scythia, were more barbarous ſtill, for they impriſoned and ſtarved to death, their own parents, when they came to be advanced in years. What abominations were committed by ſome people of Ethi-

opia,

opia, who, according to Ælian, adopted a dog for their king, and regulated all their actions, by the geſtures and motions of that animal; and Pliny inſtances a people, whom he calls Toembaros, though not of Ethiopia, who obeyed the ſame maſter.

Nor are the hearts of mankind in many parts of the world, much mended at this day. There are many places, where they feed on human fleſh, and go hunting for men, as they would for wild beaſts. The Yagos, a people of the kingdom of Anſicus in Africa, eat, not only the priſoners they take in war, but feed alſo upon ſuch of their friends as die natural deaths; ſo that among them, the dead have no other burying place than the ſtomachs of the living. All the world knows, that in many parts of the Eaſt-Indies, they uphold the barbarous cuſtom, of the women burning themſelves at the funeral of their huſbands, and though they are not by law obliged to do this, the inſtances of their failing to do it are very rare, becauſe upon their declining it, they would remain infamous, deſpiſed, and abhorred by every one. Among the Cafres, all the relations of a perſon who dies are obliged to cut off the little finger of the left hand, and throw it into the grave of the deceaſed.

XVII. What ſhall we ſay to the countenance, that has been given to Turpitude, by various nations? In Malabar, the women may marry as many huſbands as they pleaſe. In the Iſland of Ceylon, when a woman marries, ſhe is common to all the brothers of her husband, and the conſorted parties may divorce themſelves and contract a freſh alliance whenever they pleaſe. In the kingdom of Bengal, all the new-married women, thoſe of the firſt rank not excepted, before they are allowed to be enjoyed by their husbands, are delivered up to the luſt of the bramins or prieſts. In Mingrelia, a province of Georgia, where the people are Schiſmatic Chriſtians, among the compound of various errors prevailing there, adultery is conſidered as a thing indifferent, and it is very rare, that any of their ſex are faithful to their conſorts; it is true, that the husband in caſe of catching the wife in the act of adultery, has a right by way of compenſation, to demand of her paramour a pig, which is conſidered as ample amends, and the criminal perſon is generally invited to partake of it.

SECT. VI.

XVIII. Was I to recite the extravagant ſuperſtitions prevailing in various places, the labour would be immenſe. It is very well known, that the antient Gentiles worſhiped the moſt deſpica-

ble and vile animals. The goat was the deity of one nation, the tortoiſe of another, the beetle of another, and the fly of another. Even the Romans, who were eſteemed the moſt poliſhed people in the world, were extremely ridiculous in matters of religion; St. Auſtin, in many parts of his Treatiſe, called The City of God, upbraids them with it; and the moſt remarkable of their abſurdities in this reſpect was, their adopting ſuch an innumerable quantity of deities, to ſeparate and diſtinct charges; the protection of the harveſt, and the grain, belonged to twelve different Gods, each of whom had his particular department. To guard the door of the houſe, they had no leſs than three; the God Lorculos had the care of the wood, the Goddeſs Cordea that of the hinges, and the God Limentius looked after the pediment. St. Auſtin jocoſely remarks to them, that if each individual would appoint a porter, they would find him capable of doing much more than any one of their Gods, for he would be able to execute this whole buſineſs, better than three of them, and with greater ſecurity. Pliny (who runs into the oppoſite extreme of denying a Deity or a Providence, or at leaſt of affecting to doubt there is a Supreme Being) in giving an account of the ſuperſtitious faith of the Romans, eſtimates the number of their deities to exceed the number of their people. *Quam ob rem major cœlitum populus, etiam quam hominum intelligi poteſt* (Lib. 1. cap. 6.) The computation

is

is not aggravated, as every man according to his fancy, appointed himſelf Houſhold Gods, to each of whom, he conſigned a particular charge, and beſides this, worſhiped all the eſtabliſhed Gods. The multifarious number may be inferred, not only from what St. Auſtin has told us, but from the ſame Pliny, who ſays, they erected temples and altars, to all the diſeaſes and misfortunes, with which mankind are viſited: *Morbis etiam in genera deſcriptis, et multis etiam peſtibus, dum eſſe placatas trepido metu capimus.* It is certain, that in Rome, there was a Temple erected to Fevers, and another to Ill Luck.

XIX. The modern idolators, are not leſs blind than the antient ones. The devil is worſhiped in his own proper name by many people. In Pegu, a kingdom in the Peninſula of India, although they worſhip God as the author of all good, they pay more adoration to the devil, whom they believe to be the author of all evil. Some people in the train of the ambaſſador, whom Peter the Great, late Czar of Muſcovy, ſent to China, met in the way an idolatrous prieſt praying, and they aſked him whom he worſhiped? To which he anſwered in a magiſterial tone, *I worſhip a God whom the God you worſhip caſt down from heaven, but after awhile my God will throw your's down from heaven, and then will be ſeen great changes among the ſons of men.* They muſt in that region have

had ſome account of the fall of Lucifer ; but they may wait long enough for a redeemer, if they ſtay till their deity returns to heaven. From as ridiculous a motive, the Jedices, a ſect in Perſia, never curſe the devil, and that is, that one day or other he may make his peace with God, and then may revenge all the affronts they offer him.

XX. In the kingdom of Siam, they worſhip a white elephant, and four Mandarines are appointed conſtantly to attend him, who ſerve him with his meat and his drink, in a veſſel of gold. In the Iſland of Ceylon, they worſhiped a tooth, which was pretended to have fallen from the mouth of God; but Conſtantine de Bergania, a Portugueſe, having got poſſeſſion of it, burnt it, to the great diſgrace of the prieſts who had invented the fable. The Indians of Honduras, worſhiped a ſlave; but neither the divinity nor the life of the poor creature laſted long, for he died within a year, after which, they made a ſacrifice of his body, and ſubſtituted another in his place: but their believing, that he who could not redeem himſelf from the confinement and reſtraint, in which, by way of ſecurity they kept him, could make others happy, was ridiculous enough. In the Southern Tartary, they worſhip a man who they think is eternal, having been made to believe ſo by the artifices of the prieſts appointed to his ſervice.

They

They only ſhew him in a private place of the palace or temple, ſurrounded by a number of lamps, and they always by way of precaution, in caſe he ſhould die, keep another man ſecreted, who is much like him, that he may be ready to take his place, and ſeem as if he was ſtill the ſame man. They call him Lama, which ſignifies Father eternal, and ſuch is their veneration for him, that their greateſt men procure by rich preſents a part of his excrements, which they put into a gold box, and wear it ſuſpended from their necks, as a precious relic. But no ſuperſtition appears to me more extravagant, than what is practiſed at Balia, an Iſland in the Indian Sea, to the eaſtward of Java, where every man has his ſeparate God, which he fixes upon juſt as his caprice dictates, either the trunk of a tree, a ſtone, or a brute, and many of them change their Gods every day, for they are allowed this liberty, and often worſhip for the day the firſt thing they meet going out out of their houſes in a morning.

SECT. VII.

XXI. What ſhall I ſay of the ridiculous hiſtorical tales, which are venerated in ſome nations as irrefragable traditions? The Arcadians compute their origin to be antecedent to the creation of the Moon. The people of Peru maintain their

kings to be legitimate deſcendants from the ſun. The Arabs believe as an article of faith, the exiſtence of a bird, which they call Anca Megareb, of ſuch an enormous ſize, that its eggs are as big as large hills; which bird they ſay was afterwards curſed by their Prophet Handal, for having inſulted him, and that it now lives retired in a certain inacceſſible Iſland. The credit of an imaginary hero called Cherderles, is not leſs eſtabliſhed among the Turks; they ſay he was one of Alexander's captains, and that having made himſelf and his horſe immortal by drinking of the waters of a certain river, he now goes about exploring the world, and aſſiſting ſuch ſoldiers as invoke him; they ſeem very happy with this deluſion, and near a little Moſque appropriated to his worſhip, they ſhew the tombs of the nephew and the ſervant of this knight errant, and they add, that by their interceſſion continual miracles are wrought in that quarter.

XXII. In ſhort, if you ſcrutinize country by country, the whole intellectual map of the globe, except only thoſe places where the name of Chriſt is worſhiped, you will find all this extenſive ſurface, covered with ſpots and ſtains. Every country is an Africa to engender monſters; every province, an Iberia to produce poiſons; in all places, as in Lycia, they invent chimeras; and in all nations,

tions, where the light of the gospel is wanting, they are obscured with as dark mists, as formerly obscured Egypt. There are no people whatever, who have not much of the barbarous. What results from this? why that the voice of the people is totally destitute of authority, because we see it so frequently posted on the side of error. Every one considers as infallible, the sentiment that prevails in his own country; upon this principle, that every body says so, and every body thinks so. Who are these every bodies? All the people in the world? Not so, because in other places, they think and say the contrary. But is not mankind the same in one place as another? why then should truth be more attached to the voice of this people, than of that people? Why because this is my country, and the other is a foreign one;—good reasoning!

SECT. VIII.

XXIII. I never observed, that the dogmatic writers, who in various manners, have conclusively proved the evident credibility of our holy faith, have introduced as one of their arguments, the consent of many nations in their belief of those mysteries; but have laid great stress, upon the consent of men, eminent for their sanctity and wisdom. The first argument would be favourable to idola-

try, and the Mahomedan Sect; the ſecond cannot be anſwered, nor can it be uſed to militate on the other ſide; and in caſe they ſhould oppoſe to us the authority of the antient philoſophers, who have been the partizans of idolatry, the objection would be grounded on a falſe ſuppoſition, it being eſtabliſhed by irrefragable teſtimony, that thoſe philoſophers in matters of religion did not think with the people. Marcus Varus, one of the wiſeſt of the Romans, diſtinguiſhed among the Antients three kinds of Theology; the Natural, the Civil, and the Poetical. The firſt exiſted in the minds of wiſe men; the ſecond was uſed to govern the religion of the people at large; the third was the invention of the poets; and of all the three, the philoſophers held only the firſt to be true. The diſtinction of the two firſt, had been pointed out by Ariſtotle, in the twelfth book of his Metaphyſics, cap. 8, where he ſays, that from the opinions of preceding ages which have been communicated to us reſpecting the Gods, may be inferred, they held ſome things to be true, and others falſe, and that the laſt were invented for the uſe and civil government of the populace: *Cætera vero fabuloſè ad multitudinis perſuaſionem.* It is true, that although thoſe philoſophers were not of the ſame ſentiment with the people, they generally talked their language, as an oppoſite conduct would have been very hazardous; for whoever denied the plurality

of

of Gods, was looked upon as impious; as it happened to Socrates. The ſum of the whole of this is, that in the voice of the people was contained all the error; and that the little or much which exiſted of truth, was ſhut up and impriſoned in the minds of a few wiſe men.

XXIV. After all that has been ſaid, I ſhall conclude, by pointing out two ſenſes, in which only, and in no other whatever, is contained the truth of the maxim, "that the voice of the people is the voice of God." The firſt is, taking for the voice of the people, the unanimous conſent of all God's people; that is, of the univerſal church, which it is certain cannot err in matters of faith; not through any antecedent impoſſibility which may be inferred from the nature of things, but by means of the interpoſition of the holy ſpirit, with which, according to the promiſe made by Chriſt, it will be conſtantly aſſiſted. I ſaid all God's people, becauſe a large portion of the church may err, and in fact did err, in the great Weſtern Schiſm; for the kings of France, Caſtile, Arragon, and Scotland, acknowledged Clement the VIIth for legitimate Pope; the reſt of the Chriſtian world, adhered to Urban the VIth. But it is manifeſt, that one of the two parties muſt be wrong, which may be conſidered as

as a concluſive proof; that even within the pale of the Chriſtian church, not only one, but ſeveral nations collectively, may err in eſſentials.

XXV. The ſecond ſenſe in which the maxim ought to be held true, is, by taking for the voice of the people, the univerſal concurrence of all mankind; it appearing morally impoſſible, that all the nations of the world ſhould agree in adopting any one error. Thus the conſent of the whole earth, in believing the exiſtence of a God, is held by the learned, as a concluſive proof of this article.

VIRTUE and VICE.

EVERY mortal (ſaid Philo, as cited by St. Ambroſe, Lib. 1. of Cain and Abel, cap. 4.) has, within the little habitation of the ſoul, two females, the one chaſte but rigid and unpleaſant, the other wanton but ſoft and amorous. The firſt is the type of virtue, the ſecond of worldly delights.

II. The learned Jew paints virtue and vice according to appearances at firſt ſight, or according to the opinion of the world, but not according to the truth; and ſo it comes to paſs, that virtue is commonly conceived to be all aſperity, and vice all deliciouſneſs; virtue is placed among thorns, and vice repoſing on beds of flowers: but this is an error, and of all the falſe opinions upheld by the blindneſs of the world, the moſt pernicious one. I ſhall endeavour in this diſcourſe to expoſe its fallacy, by ſhewing, that even in this life, abſtracted from the rewards and puniſhments of that to come, by people's abandoning themſelves to the purſuit of criminal pleaſures, they are liable to more inquietudes, and experience more

more fatigues, than they would be expoſed to, by the practice of the moral and Chriſtian virtues. For this purpoſe, I ſhall make uſe of ſuch arguments as are furniſhed by natural reaſon and experience, without having recourſe to the ſentences of fathers, or the ſayings of philoſophers, the collection of which might be ſwelled to a vaſt bulk; but whoever is not to be perſuaded by reaſon, will never be convinced by authority.

III. Could we but ſee the hearts of men abandoned to a vicious courſe, the doubt would be ſoon removed; however, we may view them by reflection in the looking-glaſſes of their ſouls, of which their words and actions are the types. If you obſerve with attention theſe unhappy men, you will find, that no others betray ſuch perturbation in their countenances, ſuch inquietude in their actions, nor ſuch embarraſſment in their converſation; nor is this to be wondered at, there being many tormentors, who are continually diſturbing them in the enjoyment of their beloved pleaſures. That domeſtic enemy, that unavoidable, but unſavoury gueſt, their own conſcience, with the nectar they drink, is conſtantly mixing the gall they abominate.

IV. Tully ſaid with energetical propriety, that the crimes of wicked men, reflected in their own imaginations,

imaginations, are to them continual and domeſtic furies? *Hæ ſunt impiis aſſiduæ, domeſticæque furiæ.* (Orat. pro Roſc.) Theſe are the ſerpents and vulturs, who gnaw in pieces the entrails of the wicked *Tityus*; theſe are the eagles, who tear the heart of the raſh Prometheus. Conſider the torments of Cain, a fugitive from the world, and who, if it were poſſible, would fly from himſelf alſo; wandering through the woods and mountains, without ever having power to extract the dart which had pierced his breaſt, that is, the memory of his crime; or like another wounded hind, under which image the great poet deſcribes the mortal inquietude of that enamoured queen,

——— *Silvas, ſaltuſque peragrat*
Dictæos; hæret lateri læthalis arundo.

V. Contemplate the anxieties of a Lamech, ſo violently preſſed by the recollection of the murder, or murders, which he had committed, that, wanting power to remain the repoſitory of his own ſecret, he throws it up like one who has ſwallowed poiſon, which excites a coughing or tickling in the throat, and runs the hazard of infamy and puniſhment, for the ſake only of enjoying a trivial and temporary relief. Plutarch relates of one Apollodorus, that the memory of his crimes, haunted him in his ſleep; for he dreamed

dreamed every night, that after being quartered, his members were diſſolved in boiling water, and that while he ſuffered this martyrdom, his heart ſcreamed out, "I am the cauſe and motive of theſe torments."

SECT. II.

VI. I acknowledge it to be true, that all men are not ſo ſuſceptible of interior remorſe, and that, as St. Paul expreſſes it, there are conſciences ſo cauterized, as to loſe all ſenſation; and hearts, which by a long habit of ſin are become petrified;

Sic læthalis hyems paulatim in pectora venit.

VII. O men, of all the moſt unhappy! This obdurateneſs of the breaſt, is a ſchirrous of the ſoul, for which, by appealing to miracles only, you can hope relief. Such people are apt to amuſe themſelves with the hope, that during this mortal life at leaſt, they ſhall paſs on with mirth and enjoyment; but how much are they deceived, who feed themſelves with ſuch hopes, for theſe are the people who experience the moſt toil. This will appear by a ſurvey of the three vices, within whoſe boundaries, almoſt every evil lays diſtributed, to wit, ambition, avarice, and luxury.

VIII. The

VIII. The ambitious man is the ſlave of all the world. Of the Prince, that he may beſtow a place on him; of his client, becauſe he ſolicits him; and of other men, for fear they ſhould put obſtacles in his way. His ſoul and body are in continual agitation, from an apprehenſion of the conſequences, with which the loſs of an inſtant of time may be attended, and he dreads all mankind, leſt ſome one by an accuſation, may occaſion all his ſolicitude to vaniſh in ſmoke. How forced are his looks! for he ſmiles on thoſe, to whom he bears a mortal enmity. What labour does it coſt him, to ſuppreſs thoſe vicious inclinations, that might throw obſtructions in the way of his manœuvres! All the other paſſions, are the victims of the ruling one, and the vice of ambition, like a tyrant maſter, adds to the torment that itſelf inflicts, by the prohibition of all thoſe pleaſures which the inclination prompts to. He ſees one go to a comedy, another amuſe himſelf with innocent recreation, another go to a feaſt, and another to a ball; he ſees them all, and envies them all; for his paſſions, though furious, may be compared to the winds, which are confined and ſhut up in the priſons of Æolus;

Illi indignantes magno cum murmure montis
Circum clauſtra fremunt.

IX. When

IX. When he has obtained a place, his cares do not leſſen, the object only of his anxiety being changed, and his attention is but tranſlated from the means of procuring his riſe, to the ſtudy of how he ſhall keep poſſeſſion of what he has acquired. He finds himſelf placed on a ladder, which he cannot aſcend without much fatigue, nor remain where he is ſituated without uneaſineſs, and where the dread of falling headlong terrifies him from deſcending. He finds the neceſſity of holding a tight rein on his depraved appetites increaſed, and is obliged to ride his vicious inclinations with a ſtronger curb. He is ſolicited by avarice, inſtigated by gluttony, and burns with incontinence; but ſtill obeys, although it is with reluctance, that paſſion which has the deſpotic rule of him. He would wiſh to cruſh by an unjuſt ſentence, the man who has offended him; but fears leſt the injured perſon ſhould appeal to the king, or a ſuperior tribunal. He loves indolence; but if he relaxes in his application, all is loſt. He trembles at the thought of a change of adminiſtration, as the idea fills him with an apprehenſion of being left deſerted in the ſtreet; and never reads a news-paper, without being terrified at ſeeing an account of the death of his patron. Can a man lead a more miſerable life?

X. It

X. It is a known thing, that the covetous man is one of the devil's martyrs; or he may be compared to an Anchorite, who, by his abſtinence and retirement, acquires merits, which may intitle him to a place in hell. His heart, divided between the deſires of keeping and acquiring, experiences a continual fever, mixed with a mortal cold, as he burns for other people's property, and trembles with the apprehenſion of loſing his own. He is hungry, but does not eat; he is thirſty, and does not drink; he is always needy, and his mind knows no repoſe. He is never free from alarms. A rat does not move in the ſilence of the night, without the noiſe filling him with apprehenſions, that a thief is breaking into his houſe. No ſtrong wind can blow, that in his imagination, does not threaten the wreck of one of his trading ſhips. He is continually meditating new hiding-places for his treaſure, which he frequently viſits, doubtful of finding the money in the hiding-place, but always ſure of finding his heart in the money. He views it with anxious concern, and ſometimes will not venture to touch it, leſt it ſhould crumble to aſhes between his fingers. Thus, fat in poſſeſſions, and a martyr to fears, his days paſs away, till, as it happened in the caſe of king Agag, the fatal hour of puniſhment arrives (*pinguiſſimus et tremens*). Can a man's life be more unhappy?

XI. If he ſeeks relief from laſciviouſneſs, he will find, that no vice loads a man with ſo much uneaſineſs; and provided the meanneſs of his diſpoſition, or the depravity of his appetite, determine him to purſue criminal pleaſures, in the inſtant are ſet before his eyes the injuries it will be productive of, to the three articles, that are eſteemed the moſt valuable in this life, honour, wealth, and property. He goes from pitcher to pitcher, to ſatisfy his thirſt, till meeting with ſome infectious water, he poiſons his whole maſs of blood, by which means, his life is either endangered, or he is obliged to purchaſe the preſervation of it at a dear rate, and although he recovers his health, he will ſuffer in his reputation through life.

XII. If, from the ampleneſs of his fortune, or the merit of his perſon, his purſuits are directed to objects in a higher ſphere, he will avoid part of the inconveniences before enumerated, to incur greater, which is ſhunning Scylla, and running upon Charybdis. Adventures of this kind, are full of alarms, inquietudes, and dangers. What anxieties await him pending the love-ſuit! His eyes ſeek ſleep, but find it not; for Jacob, who was an honourable lover, experienced, and declared, that it was become a fugitive from his eyes. His heart longs for repoſe, but does not obtain it. In this manner he goes on, conceiving unhappineſs,

that he may bring forth misfortune. He is conſtantly wavering in his determination, about what means he ſhall employ to accompliſh his end; he approves all that occur to him, and he rejects them all: *incertæ tanta eſt diſcordia mentis.* He trembles to think of the poſſibility of a repulſe. Love drags him forward, fear detains him. He finds the whole road of his courtſhip ſtrewed with perils, which upon his arrival at the ſummit of his wiſhes, will be multiplied, the hazardous inſtances in ſuch caſes, being many; but it ſeldom happens, that the injury is confined to a ſingle perſon, and it is next to a moral impoſſibility, that a man ſhould take ſo many ſteps without making a little noiſe, by which means, ſuſpicion will be awakened, and watching in the end, be rewarded with the diſcovery of truth; and although the purpoſe is accompliſhed, a man who commits inſults, and does injuries, is never free from alarms. What real pleaſure is a man capable of feeling, who cannot ſeparate the gratification of his lewd deſires, from the hazard that attends them? He cannot move a ſtep in proſecution of the crime, but the injured perſon, preſents himſelf to his imagination, with a dagger, or a piſtol in his hand; and this danger is conſtantly purſuing him, whichever way he turns himſelf; ſo that he is preciſely in the caſe of that man, who is in continual dread of loſing his life, and always ſees it hang ſuſpended by a ſingle thread before his

eyes, which is a ſtate, that God repreſents to his people as a terrible curſe: *Et erit vita tua quaſi pendens ante te. Timebis nocte, & die, & non credes vitæ tuæ.*

XIII. But admitting there are circumſtances where theſe apprehenſions do not exiſt, ſtill it does not follow, that they are not attended with very ſerious inquietudes. Suppoſe that after enjoyment, a loathing ſhould enſue, which happens very frequently, and which actually did happen to Amnon with Thamar. You ſee in this caſe, for the ſake of a delicious moment, a diſagreeable obligation intailed upon a man for life. If he reſolves to break the nooſe, he expoſes himſelf to the rage of an abandoned woman, who finding herſelf neglected, runs mad, either through love or hatred, which are both equally dangerous. If his criminal affection continues, the impatience of not enjoying his beloved object with freedom, over-balances the ſatisfaction, which is afforded by a delight that he uſurps by ſtealth. In ſuch a ſituation, his bowels being gnawed by a furious envy is unavoidable. But what if jealouſies ſhould ſteal in? Thoſe who have experienced the rigour of theſe furies well know, how much they exceed the moſt exquiſite criminal enjoyments, and that whole years of that falſe glory are not equal to one day only of this hell. Reflect on what has been

ſaid,

ſaid, and then tell me, whether you can figure to yourſelf a ſtate more unhappy. St. Auſtin, who found himſelf ſo long entangled in the labyrinth of the three before-mentioned vices, is a good witneſs, that the diſh which they preſent to the appetite, is filled with putrefaction. Hear his words, when he addreſſes himſelf to God in the ſixth Book of his Confeſſions: *Inhiabam honoribus, lucris, conjugio, & tu irridebas, patiebar in iis cupiditatibus amariſſimas difficultates.*

SECT. III.

XIV. Nor ought we to conclude, that thoſe few whoſe will with reſpect to other men, is the law, and whoſe libertiniſm there is no rein to check, navigate the ſea of vice without inquietude, for they alſo experience the waters of that ſea to be extremely bitter. I mean ſovereign princes. Nero was lord of the earth, that is to ſay, maſter of the whole Roman empire. He gave the moſt latitudinary looſe imaginable to all his perverſe inclinations, and thoſe inclinations were irrefragable decrees. The weight of government, ſat very light on him, and far from ſupporting the ſtate on his ſhoulders, which by way of example, had been done by the beſt princes, he trod it under foot. All the world obeyed the ſceptre, and the ſceptre was the ſlave of appetite. He poſſeſſed whomſoever

he liked, and put to death whomſoever he hated. Love in the Emperor's hands, held its attainment and completion, and in the hands of his inſtruments, hatred held the knife. Paſſion could not carry a man to a more horrible pitch of extravagance, than he manifeſted, when he ſet fire to Rome to indulge his cruelty, and alſo to gratify his baſe appetites, which were evident by the indignities he offered to his own ſex. All this, to the diſgrace of human nature, was executed by that monſter in iniquity.

XV. Who would believe, that this prince, who held the world in ſlavery to his arbitrary will, did not lead a joyous life? but according to Tacitus, ſo far from enjoying this happineſs, he was always poſſeſſed with terrors: *Facinorum recordatione nunquam timore vacuus.* And Suetonius adds, that unable to ſleep of nights, he uſed to run about the ſalons of his palace, tumbling heels over head like a man out of his ſenſes.

XVI. Tiberius was equal to Nero in power, and very little inferior to him in wickedneſs; but with all his power, he led ſo uneaſy and diſturbed a life, that in order a little to relieve his heart from the oppreſſion of its anxieties, he could not avoid burſting forth in groans and words, that were expreſſive of his grief and uneaſineſs. So ſays Tacitus: *Tiberiun non fortuna, non ſolitudines protegebant,*

gebant, quin tormenta pectoris, ſuaſque ipſe pœnas fateretur; and a little before, he relates a mournful exclamation of the Emperor's, in a letter he wrote to the Senate, where he ſays, my own crimes have transformed themſelves into executioners, in order to torment me; *adeo facinora atque flagitia ipſi quoque in ſupplicium verterant.*

XVII. Theſe anxieties of bad princes, are for the moſt part, occaſioned by their ſeeing themſelves univerſally abhorred, in conſequence of which, they live in continual dread of conſpiracies. They reflect, that out of ſo many people who hate them, ſome will be found, with ſufficient reſolution to execute, what had been previouſly concerted; ſo that amidſt all their pleaſures, they cannot feel more enjoyment, than is felt by a culprit, at the ſound of ſoft muſic, while he is waiting to hear the fatal ſentence. Dionyſius the tyrant of Syracuſe, in order to undeceive a perſon who envied his happineſs, made uſe of the following expreſſive device. He invited the man to a banquet, and ſeated him immediately under the point of a ſword, that hung ſuſpended by a fine thread, very near to, and juſt ready to pierce his neck, and then informed him, that was preciſely the ſituation, in which his fortune had placed him.

XVIII. Over and above this anguiſh, which is common to all tyrants, there is no legitimate prince, however happy he may ſeem, without his ſerious and weighty inquietudes. Alexander cloathed with glory, afflicts himſelf, becauſe Homer does not live to celebrate his actions. Auguſtus, who had always been the favourite of fortune, becauſe ſhe once ſlighted him in the caſe of the legions in Germany, paſſed much of his time, both night and day, in ravings and exclamations, as if he had been mad. Caligula, fancies he ſhall inſure his ſafety, by ſpilling great quantities of blood, but is grieved when he reflects, that all the heads in Rome are not placed on one neck, and that he cannot ſtrike them off at a blow. The ambitious prince groans, becauſe he cannot make himſelf maſter of the whole world; the covetous one, becauſe he cannot accumulate in his own treaſury, the riches of other kingdoms; the vindictive one, becauſe he cannot deſtroy a neighbouring prince who has offended him; the laſcivious one, becauſe his imagination repreſents to him ſome foreign object, exempt from the power of his will. Thus bitter afflictions, are annexed to exalted ſtations.

SECT. IV.

XIX. So certain and ſo general is the ſentence, which wiſdom puts in the mouths of all wicked men,

men, when they arrive at the region where the deluſion ceaſes: *Laſſati ſumus in via iniquitatis & perditionis, & ambulavimus vias difficiles.* Oh! how have we fatigued ourſelves in the way of perdition! our relaxation was wearineſs, our pleaſures anguiſh; unhappy we, who have run the courſe of life, not through delicious gardens, or pleaſant foreſts, but through thorns and briars, and intricate paths! This is the language of all the damned: *Talia dixerunt in inferno hi, qui peccaverunt.* Of all? yes, they all ſay ſo, and they ſpeak the truth. All ſinners have their little hell in this world. They all travel through aſperities, to arrive at the precipice. They all drink the dregs of that cup, which according to David's deſcription our Lord holds in his hand: *Calix in manu domini vini meri plenus mixto: & inclinavit ex hoc in hoc, verumtamen fæx ejus non eſt exinanita, bibent omnes peccatores terræ.* And it muſt be ſo, for according to the ſenſe and meaning of the text, the pure wine is for the ſaints of the land, where the enjoyment is pure: the mixed, is for the juſt of that country, where tribulation is mixed with happineſs, ſo that even in this life, there remains for ſinners, only the bitter and groſs dregs; and theſe they all drink. All, yes all, without excepting even thoſe, on whom the good things of this world ſeem to be heaped up.

XX. For the more clear underſtanding this matter, and to enforce the argument we are uſing, it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that in this life, there is a heavy and mortal affliction, which is common to all men; but with reſpect to ſinners, it is peculiarly and moſt ſeverely felt by thoſe who ſeem the moſt happy. This affliction, conſiſts in the reflection, that we muſt one day die. There is no doubt, but every living creature feels horror, upon arriving at that fatal paſs, and is naturally ſad, whenever it occurs to him, that he muſt unavoidably go through it; but he will be more affected beyond compariſon, who after having culled all the regales of fortune, has placed his whole happineſs in the enjoyment of them. Let us contemplate a man, rich, powerful, reſpected, and obeyed, and to whom nothing is wanting, either for convenience or pleaſure, and to whom, let his appetites be ever ſo vague, fortune has denied nothing that may enable him to gratify them. Such a man, whenever he thinks that he muſt die, which is a thought that will ſometimes occur to him, without his being able to prevent it, cannot fail to be exceedingly afflicted. The thought of death, to whoever does not employ it for the amendment of his life, becomes a torturer. Let us admit, that he is a determined Athieſt, ſo blinded, as not to entertain the leaſt idea of the immortality of the ſoul, and conſequently, has not the leaſt apprehenſion

henſion of what will befall him in the world to come; yet he will at leaſt conſider death, as a mercileſs, and a ſavage tyrant, who will deſpoil him of all that is moſt dear to him; of the property which he poſſeſſes, of the banquet he regales himſelf at, of the chace which diverts him, of the muſic which delights him, and of the concubine whom he adores; all which will be loſt at a ſtroke, never to be recovered any more. The greater the pleaſures are which he enjoys, the more miſerable this conſideration will make him. The unhappy man, who is the outcaſt of fortune, and even he who is placed in a middle ſtation of life, feels the light conſolation, that death will relieve him from many vexations; but what comfort can he receive, whom it will only rob of enjoyments? Death ſtrikes terror into all men, but to ſuch a one, it is terrible in extreme. Every man is intenſely fond of his own particular happineſs, and in proportion to the ardour with which he loves it, will be his grief at loſing it. Such a man, when he thinks himſelf arrived at the ſummit of felicity, and knows no other than that which he poſſeſſes, with what anguiſh muſt he reflect, that the whole, without the leaſt reſerve, will be one day loſt!

XXI. This inevitable melancholy, as they advance in years, is much augmented in all the favourites of fortune. Life, after a man is arrived at his

his prime, may be from thenceforward, truly and properly, compared to a chronic diſeaſe, which proceeds leading a man to death by ſlow paces; or to ſpeak more properly, it is death implanted in our nature. Upon arriving at the period we have juſt mentioned, that is, the prime of life, the powerful man, from thenceforward, in the ſtrength which he continues to loſe, and in the diſeaſes he proceeds to gain, finds conſtant information, that by little and little, the cottage of life goes on cruſhing and crumbling to nothing, by the weight of the temple of fortune. At this ſtage, he revolves in his mind, one by one, all the pleaſures he enjoys, and all the objects of his love, and each thought tears from his heart a ſigh, eſpecially when he reflects, that the time approaches, when he muſt bid them all a melancholy farewell. He proceeds to caſt another glance at death, and almoſt in the words of the unhappy King David oppreſſed with grief, exclaims againſt her in a ſentimental complaint, not ſo much for having cut the thread of his life, as for having ſeparated him by an eternal abſence from all he eſteemed and adored. *Siccine ſeparat amara mors.* O ſinners! whom the world call happy, is this living? But let the world be undeceived; for ye are the people, who burden yourſelves with whatever is moſt heavy, and hard to be borne, that is contained in the ſtores of mortality; all your relaxation is fatigue,

tigue, all your pleaſure is anxiety, all your nectar is poiſon.

XXII. For your comfort and advantage, although you cannot be a ſtranger to it, liſten at preſent, to that ſweet and ſonorous voice, which, by the divine organ, was conveyed and diſperſed over the whole face of the earth. Attend, for to you it is addreſſed; hear and profit by it: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis, & onerati eſtis, & ego reficiam vos.* Come unto me, all ye who labour, and are heavy laden with cares, for I will lighten your burdens, and give you relaxation and eaſe. Theſe words, it is certain, are deſigned to reclaim ſinners, and are addreſſed as a call to thoſe who are diſtant from Chriſt. Theſe then are they, who lead a weariſome life. Chriſt invites them to come nearer him, that is, to embrace virtue; the virtuous then are thoſe, who enjoy relaxation and eaſe. Thus, you ſee, both the points I am attempting to prove are ſupported by evangelical authority.

SECT. V.

But having demonſtrated the firſt point by natural reaſon and experience, I will proceed to do the ſame by the ſecond. And firſt of all, I ought to acknowledge, that the beginnings of a virtuous life, are toilſome: *Ardua prima via eſt*; and more

eſpecially

eſpecially to thoſe who have been a long time under the dominion of their paſſions. Vicious habits, are enemies, which in their firſt attacks, wage cruel war, but their force declines daily, and ſometimes, by a miracle of grace, they are laid proſtrate at the firſt onſet. The flight of a vicious man from ſin, is in all reſpects, like the eſcape of the Hebrews from the land of Egypt. How dejected were they, when, with the Red Sea in their front, they ſaw the Egyptian army at their backs! How haughty were the Egyptians! how deſponding were the Hebrews! They are juſt on the point of treating to ſurrender, when Moſes, exalting his voice, ſaid to the people, "Now, Iſrael, advance boldly into the gulph, for the Lord hath undertaken to defend you." They obey, and upon ſetting their feet in the water, the Sea divided. The troops of Pharaoh purſue them in crouds. What pride poſſeſſed the Egyptians! what fear the Hebrews! However, the laſt proceed with trembling pace, till they reach the oppoſite ſhore; upon arriving there, they turn round, and look at whence they came from, and they then perceive Pharaoh and all his hoſt are buried in the Red Sea. Their grief is converted to happineſs, and their groans to ſongs of joy.

XXIV. Exactly like this, is the flight of a ſinner from vice. Egypt is the criminal ſtation. The enemies who purſue the fugitive ſinner are his vicious

vicious inclinations, of which, he was a long time the ſlave: theſe are ſtrong, he is feeble. The firſt aſſault is furious. Moſes is the virtue which animates him. The ſinner at laſt, breaks through a ſea of difficulties, and although it requires more perſeverance in ſome to compleat the good work, than in others, he ultimately obtains the ſatisfaction, of ſeeing all his paſſions drowned. He gains footing on the oppoſite ſhore: and what follows? the ſame that happened to the Hebrews, he burſts forth in ſongs of joy. Afterwards, in purſuing his road to the Land of Promiſe, he is now and then upon the way, aſſaulted by enemies, that is, by ſome temptations; but they are overcome, as Moſes overcame the Amalekites, by lifting the hands to Heaven, under which figure is implied the force and efficacy of prayer. Sometimes he alſo meets with bitter waters, that is to ſay tribulations, but a miraculous wood ſweetens them; for the croſs, or paſſion of our Saviour, makes them palatable. From Mara or Marath, a place whoſe name is uſed to expreſs bitterneſs, on account of its nauſeous waters, he makes the tranſition to Elim, a ſituation, which is both pleaſant and delightſome.

XXV. Thus it ſucceeds with the ſinner, who, fugitive from vice, puts himſelf under the divine protection, which never fails thoſe who ſolicit it; but to be uniform to what I propoſed, it will now be

be neceſſary, to conſider virtue in its natural ſtate, and abſtracted from the extraordinary aids, with which it is aſſiſted by grace.

SECT. VI.

XXVI. The ſuperlative Mount of Virtue is formed the reverſe of all other mountains. In the material mountains, the ſkirts are pleaſant, and the tops all aſperity; therefore, in aſcending them, the pleaſant part diminiſhes, and the dreary part augments. On the contrary, the ſkirts of the Mount of Virtue are diſguſting, and the eminence grateful. He who would arrive at it, muſt expect at firſt ſetting out, to meet with nothing but rocks, thorns, and thickets, but as he advances in his courſe, the aſperity diminiſhes, and he begins to diſcover the pleaſant part; and at length, on arriving at the top, he ſees nothing but beautiful flowers, regaling plants, and cryſtal fountains.

XXVII. The firſt paſſages, are exceſſively laborious and ſlippery: *per inſidias iter eſt, formaſque ferarum*; he is courted by the ſongs of the ſyrens, from the ſea of the world; he is terrified in ſome parts of the mountain, by the roaring of lions. He caſts a wiſhful look on the ſmooth ſurface of the valley, and he contemplates with dread the top of the mountain, to which he aſpires. Freed

from

from the priſon of ſin, ſtill, in his paſſions he wears his fetters, the weight of which, together with the difficulty of the road, render his progreſs ſlow and toilſome. He hears juſt behind him, the ſoft murmurs of his criminal pleaſures, which accoſt him as they did St. Auſtin, and ſay, is it poſſible that you can abandon us? *Dimittis de nos:* is it poſſible you can take your leave and abſent yourſelf from us for ever? *Et a momento iſto non erimus tecum ultra in æternum.* He however proceeds on, though a little dejected, and now and then meets a rub in the way, which cauſes him to ſtumble; but now he begins to find the path leſs difficult, and the clamours of earthly delights make leſs impreſſion on him, becauſe he hears them at a greater diſtance. Juſt ſo St. Auſtin experienced it: *Et audiebam eas jam longè minus quam dimidias, veluti a dorſo muſitantes.* Having gone a little further, he begins to diſcover the road plain and ſmooth, and although now and then the force of his antient habits cauſes him to think of the pleaſures he has enjoyed, and the difficulty of forſaking them, the ſtroke is ſo feeble, that it makes no impreſſion: *Cum diceret mihi conſuetudo violenta, putaſne ſine iſtis poteris? ſed jam tepidiſſimè hoc dicebat.*

XXVIII. He arrives at laſt, at the ſuperior part of the mountain, where he beholds a beautiful, and an agreeable plain. The ſweat

and tears with which he watered the ſkirts, he finds have fertilized the ſummit; for here he obtains an abundant harveſt, far exceeding what is produced from cultivation and prolix labour. This is hid from the eyes of the world, who, inſtead of conſidering him as enjoying a happy retirement at the top of the mountain, conclude, he is placed in an almoſt inacceſſible and arduous ſtation. They think he cannot enjoy an inſtant of repoſe, imagining the ſituation he inhabits, to be a field, where the elements engage with the utmoſt fury, and where the tempeſts rage with the greateſt force and rigour. But it fares with him, as with one who ſcales the height of Olympus, who afterwards enjoys a climate of uninterrupted ſerenity, where the air is not diſturbed with the moſt ſlight agitation, and where the tranquillity is ſo tranſcendent, that characters written in aſhes expoſed to the open air will continue legible for years together. There you always look down upon the clouds, and the fulminations burſt on the ſkirts, without ever incommoding the eminence. At the ſame time, thoſe who dwell in the neighbouring vales, conclude, if information or experience has not undeceived them, that it is ever obſcured by gatherings, and continually ſcorched by the rays of lightning.

XXIX. Juſt ſo the difficulties of life, and the ſtorms of fortune, fall on thoſe who inhabit the humble vallies of the world, but not upon him who has aſcended the Mount of God; the fat mountain, as David calls it. But with all this, ſickneſs, grief, loſs of goods, perſecution, ignominy, and other calamities, are they not common to the juſt, and to the unjuſt? and are they not in ſome degree acquired by the firſt, by ſilence, retirement, watching, prayer, diſcipline, faſting, and other penalties? It is all true, but theſe are clouds that are ſeen at a diſtance, and only appear on the ſides of Olympus, but never riſe to the top; that is, they never attain the power of inquieting the ſublime part of the ſoul.

XXX. I do not mean to inſinuate, that juſt men are inſenſible, for this would ſavour of the extravagance of the Stoics, who pretend, that in the workſhops of virtue you may transform men to marble. The virtuous have their ſufferings, but they don't ſit ſo heavy on them, as they do on the delinquents, and the inquietudes which they both experience are felt by the delinquents in their full vigour; by the virtuous only partially. You may diſtinguiſh the ſpirit of the juſt man and the ſinner, as you would the elements of air and earth. The earth in all its regions, is expoſed to the injuries of the other

elements. The inferior portion of the air only is ſo expoſed; which is the theatre of vapours and exhalations; but the ſenſible alterations, do not reach what is called the ſuperior region of the air. There the temperature is obſerved to be always equal, there the Heavens are diſplayed in a conſtant ſerenity, and there is always enjoyed an atmoſphere, cryſtalline and pure.

SECT. VII.

XXXI. But let us ſcrutinize with the greateſt exactneſs, the temporal conveniences of virtue. Health, honour, and property, which eſſentially contribute to temporal felicity, are of great importance in this matter, if the whole of it does not conſiſt in the enjoyment of them; and conſidered with reſpect to theſe contingents, the virtuous man has much the advantage of the vicious one. No one is ignorant, that honour is the legitimate offspring of virtue; for which reaſon the Romans, when they built them, joined the temples together, that were appropriated to the adoration of thoſe endowments, which they worſhiped as deities; ſo that the only way by which you could enter the Temple of Honour, was through the Temple of Virtue. The very people who ſhun the practice of virtue, eſteem and reverence it; and the bleſſings of health and long life, on account of the regularity

larity with which he lives, are more likely to be attained by the virtuous man, than by the vicious one, who, by his debaucheries, ruins his health, and curtails his exiſtence. Property finds a good ſteward in the œconomy of virtue, who takes care of and preſerves it, by avoiding ſuperfluities. Solomon expreſſed the whole, when he ſaid, that the obedient to the divine mandates held long life in one hand, and in the other honour and property: *Longitudo dierum in dextra ejus; & in ſiniſtra illius, divitiæ & gloria.* (Prov. 3.) Now, even ſuppoſing the juſt man to enjoy no other advantages over the vicious one, is not his condition much to be preferred?

XXXIII. But it has others. The tranquillity, and ſweetneſs, which is adminiſtered to the ſoul by a good conſcience, places in a very eminent degree, the fortune of the juſt, ſuperior to that of the ſinner. This is a bleſſing of little bulk, but of great value: a precious ſtone, which, within ſmall dimenſions, contains great and rich qualities. The conſcience is the mirror of the ſoul, and it happens to the juſt man, and to the ſinner, when they look in the glaſs, as it happens to the handſome, and the ugly woman, when they view themſelves in the cryſtal; the handſome is pleaſed, becauſe ſhe ſees perfections the other is ſad, becauſe ſhe obſerves nothing but blemiſhes. The

condition of the ſinner is even worſe than that of the ugly woman, for ſhe, if ſhe pleaſes, may run from the glaſs, but the ſinner cannot do this; for although he ſhould not preſent himſelf before the mirror, the mirror will preſent itſelf before him, and the underſtanding cannot ſhut its eyes, when the memory preſents to it the images of a man's evil deeds. In that ſtate, the ſinner is filled with horror inſtead of delight, for his deſire forſakes him, and the blemiſh remains by itſelf. In addition to this, the ſinner at ſuch a conjuncture, is made unhappy by the reflection, that his infamies may be laid open to the world; at this thought, the inevitable torture of ſhame, and the puniſhment of the law, terrify him by turns. The juſt man, on the contrary, has nothing to fear. If he hides his actions from the world, it is not from the dread of their being obſerved, but to avoid the hazard of their being applauded. He contemplates them alone, and if he is ſo happy as to find that they are all good, he receives that pure pleaſure, which the ſacred Chronologer, even in God himſelf, paints as an accidental glory: *Vidit Deus cuncta quæ fecerat, & erant valdè bona.*

XXXIII. The difference between the juſt and the unjuſt man, is not leſs, when fortune in diſguſt ſheds its reverſes, or heaven is ſevere by viſiting him with tribulations. The ſinner loſes his property,

property, his beloved woman dies, he receives an injury from ſomebody, which it is out of his power to revenge. What relief does he find? None: he raves, he ſtorms, he burns; he neither eats, drinks, nor reſts; his ſymptoms are worſe than the diſeaſe, and ſometimes ſo violent, as to oblige him to take to his bed, and deprive him of life; and his paſſions often riſe to ſuch a degree of ferocity, as to excite him to lay violent hands on himſelf. On the contrary, the firſt thing the juſt man does, under ſimilar circumſtances, is to lift his eyes to Heaven; and whether he conſiders the tribulation as a juſt puniſhment for ſome crime he has been guilty of, or as a viſitation for the exerciſe of his patience, he truſts, it will all turn out for his benefit; he knows the ſtroke comes from a friendly hand, and he knows alſo, that for his own good he is wounded; he not only is reconciled, but kiſſes the rod. Thus you ſee, by an admirable metamorphoſe, his heavineſs is converted to ſatisfaction; and that what is poiſon to a wicked man, becomes balſam to a juſt one: for, *Diligentibus Deum omnia co-operantur in bonum.*

XXXIV. Who, upon a view of what we have enumerated and urged on this head, will not be convinced, that even in this life, the lot of the juſt man is incomparably better than that of the vicious one; that tranquillity and temporal conve-

nience, are only to be met with in the paths of virtue, and that the field of vice, under the delusive appearance of flowers, produces nothing but thorns?

XXXV. There now remains but one argument for me to solve, and that is taken from the words of Christ in St. Matthew, where our great Master assures us, the road is broad, that is, easy, which leads to perdition; and that the path is narrow, that is, toilsome, which leads to life immortal.

XXXVI. I say then, that before we proceed further, it will be proper to reconcile this text with the one before quoted, where our Saviour invites sinners to pursue the paths of virtue, and propounds to them relief and ease, upon a supposition, that they are crippled and borne down by the weight of sin: *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis*, &c. and it is also necessary, to compound this with that sweet expression, used in another place, when he intimates to us, that his yoke is easy, and his burden light; and we should likewise harmonize with it, what David teaches us also, which is, that the road of the divine precepts is broad, and that the precepts themselves are so likewise; *Latum mandatum tuum nimis*. In fine, this text should be understood in a sense, that is not repugnant to reason, or experience.

XXXVII. The

XXXVII. The ſolution is eaſy, if we ſay, that grace reconciles and ſoftens, that which is hard and difficult to nature; and the ſame yoke, which is heavy to be borne by mere natural powers, is made light, when the divine aid concurs and lends its aſſiſtance. And this is the manner, in which the fathers commonly reconcile thoſe texts.

XXXVIII. It may alſo be ſaid, by way of anſwer, that the Redeemer ſpeaks only of the firſt paſſages or entrance into the one and the other path, ſo that the path of virtue, at its entrance, is toilſome and laborious, but afterwards becomes eaſy; on the contrary, the path of vice is eaſy at the beginning, and toilſome at the end. The context gives reaſon for this conſtruction, for Chriſt, when he is exciting men to purſue the paths of virtue, deſcribes all the difficulty as placed at the firſt paſſages: *Intrare per anguſtam portam*, ſays St. Matthew, which according to St. Luke, is, *Contendite intrare per anguſtam portam*; which amounts to the ſame thing, as if he had ſaid, in the entrance lies all the difficulty; therefore take courage, preſs forward, fight, *contendite*: to conquer the obſtruction, which you find in the narrowneſs of the door.

XXXIX. So it is, that this door is exceeding ſtrait, and the newly converted is preſſed by the power

power of its hinges, that the ill habits he has imbibed may be ſqueezed out, and not only the ſkin is grazed by the preſſure, but ſometimes pieces of fleſh alſo are torn off, and left in the entrance. But the difficulty of this tranſit once conquered, the way by little and little grows wider, till at laſt, it is extended to a delightſome and a ſpacious valley;

Largior hic campos æther, & lumine veſtit,
Purpure, ſolemque ſuum ſua ſidera morunt.

XL. The path of vice is very differently formed, and may be compared to a paſſage or cave, which, according to the naturaliſts, is fabricated as a place of ſafe retreat by the Rat of India. This ſagacious animal, knowing the enmity the dragon bears him, and knowing alſo the inſufficiency of his own ſtrength to reſiſt him, not only defends himſelf, but conquers his enemy by the following ſtratagem. He makes two entrances to his cave, the one ſmall and proportioned to the bulk of his own body, the other wider at the ſurface, but which he draws narrower by degrees, till towards the other end it is but juſt wide enough to admit of his paſſing through. The uſe of this place is as follows: When the little animal finds himſelf purſued by that voracious beaſt, he flies to his cave, which he enters at the wide mouth, not

doubting but the dragon will follow him, who eager for his prey, the large aperture being ſufficiently wide to admit his whole body, plunges in, but as it inſenſibly becomes narrower and narrower, the dragon, who preſſes violently on, finds himſelf in the end ſo ſtraitened, as not to be able either to retreat, or advance; the rat, as ſoon as he perceives this, ſallies out of the narrow paſſage, and in the rear of the dragon, entering the wide one, revenges himſelf upon him much at his leiſure, converting him into a regale for his appetite, and food for his reſentment.

XLI. The ſtratagem of this little animal exactly reſembles that which the devil practiſes upon men. He diſplays to him the road of vice, very broad and commodious at the entrance; the unhappy man, lured by this appearance, enters without ſuſpicion, and in the conſequence becomes a prey to his criminal pleaſures. The road, by little and little, grows narrower; one care oppreſſes him on one ſide, and another on the other; ſickneſs and old age, which are very nearly allied together, come on; his limbs begin to contract, and the uſe of them to forſake him; fear, ſolicitude, grief and heavineſs, preſs upon him more and more every day, till he is put in ſuch a ſtrait, that even the ſoul with its ſpiritual nature is unable to ruminate or reflect on: by this progreſſion, the ſinner,

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in the end, arrives at the ſummit of anguiſh, and at that unhappy ſtation, from whence it is impoſſible to recede, *ubi nulla eſt redemptio*, and where he will be eternally food for that ravenous ſerpent, whoſe voracity and thirſt of blood is never ſatiated: *Mors depaſcet eos*; which Cardinal Hugo expounds, *Diabolus depaſcet eos.*

XLII. This remarkable difference and oppoſition between virtue and vice, was not hid from the antients, for the light of natural reaſon was ſufficient to acquire this knowledge; and Virgil has painted beautifully, the diſtinction between the one and the other path, in the following verſes:

Nam via virtutis dextrum petit ardua collem
Difficilemque aditum primum ſpectantibus offert,
Sed requiem præbet feſſis in vertice ſummo.
Molle oſtentat iter via lata; ſed ultima meta
Præcipitat captos, volvitque per ardua ſaxa.

Exalted

Exalted and Humble FORTUNE.

THOSE were blind themſelves, who feigned Fortune to be blind; and they were unjuſt, who accuſed her of partiality. This error is corrected by religion, when it teaches us, that what is meant by the word Fortune, is nothing elſe but the Divine Providence, which is all eyes, and proceeds in every thing from the juſteſt motives. But although the error is corrected in the eſſential, the deception is not ſo effectually diſpelled, but there is ſtill left remaining, a faint appearance of the principle. The complainers of fortune, compute the inequality of men's lots, according to the greater or leſs parade and figure which they make among their fellow creatures; and ſeeing that in a great meaſure, this inequality is not proportioned to men's merits, the wicked attribute it to the chimerical force of accident, the idolators to the caprice of a blind deity, and the true believers to the diſpoſing will of a Supreme Providence.

II. Theſe laſt conclude well, but they ſuppoſe ill, for thus it is; the circling wheel of Fortune,

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and all its movements, are directed by a divine hand; and the raiſing up ſome, and caſting down others, is ſo ordered and regulated, with the moſt wiſe deſign. It is alſo certain (and this reflection is of infinite importance) that with reſpect to many, we ſee but one half of the wheel's turning, the remainder of its circuit being reſerved for completion in the other world. We obſerve, that Fortune raiſes ſome, and never lowers them, and that it caſts down others, without ever raiſing them. What is this? Nothing more, than that Providence in this mortal life, gives the wheel but half a turn; the round is concluded in the other hemiſphere; ſo that thoſe who riſe here, go down there, and thoſe who deſcend here, are there mounted up. This is the moſt ordinary courſe, although there is no rule without an exception.

SECT. II.

III. But ſuppoſing what I have juſt premiſed is admitted, notwithſtanding all the ſolutions and precautions we can advert to, a ſerious and pernicious deceit continues to impoſe on, and in ſome ſort, govern the world, which is derived, as I have already obſerved, from thoſe who conclude well, but ſuppoſe badly. In the diſtribution they make of happy, and unhappy people, they ſuppoſe an inequality, which in reality does not exiſt, nor is

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it to be found in the fortunes of men. He who occupies posts of dignity, he who inhabits a magnificent palace, he who posseſſes great riches, and much more he whoſe temples are adorned with a crown, is reputed the happieſt of men. On the contrary, he who beneath an humble roof, ſcarce known to the world, who to ſubſiſt and enable him to live, has no more than is abſolutely neceſſary, is conſidered as unhappy. At leaſt, the fortune of this laſt, is judged to be as much inferior to that of the other, as a little fountain is to the whole ſtock of waters contained in the Nile.

IV. Very different was the ſentiment of the oracle of Delphi, who, when he was aſked by Gyges King of Lydia, who was the happieſt man in the world? replied, "Agalus Pſophidius, the poſſeſſor of a little eſtate, in a confined corner of Arcadia, is the moſt happy man who inhabits the globe." The King, who expected to be told that himſelf was the happieſt man, remained equally confounded and ſurprized.

V. Agathocles was a monſter of Fortune; from being the ſon of a poor potter of the City of Regio, he roſe to be ſovereign of Sicily, with all which, I believe, that by comparing his fortune with that of Carcinus his father, we ſhall find that the father was the more happy man of the

two.

two. It is certain, he did not live in that continual uneaſineſs, which agitated the whole life of Agathocles, nor did he ſuffer any grief ſo intenſe, or of ſo long duration, as that of Agathocles, which was occaſioned by the death of his ſons, who were barbarouſly beheaded by his own ſoldiers.

VI. Pliny, in his ſeventh Book, ſpeaking of thoſe Romans, who, in ſome inſtances, were the moſt remarkable favourites of Fortune, ſuch as the dictator Scylla, the two Metellus's, and Octavius Auguſtus, points out at the ſame time, ſo many counterpoiſes to their good luck, as to leave it doubtful, whether the ſcale of their adverſity, or of their proſperity preponderated.

VII. The labour would be infinite, if, by turning over hiſtory, you was to inſtance all thoſe, to whom the hand of fortune, has alternately dealt the moſt cruel blows, and adminiſtered the moſt tender gratifications; nor would ſuch an enquiry be of any avail to our purpoſe, becauſe every one will readily grant, there is no aſylum in this world, to protect us from the rigours of fate; nor is there any privilege annexed to high dignity, which exempts it from the juriſdiction of misfortune. The beſt method then is, to weigh the one and the other fortune, the exalted and the humble, and eſtimate them, according to what in their common

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and ordinary ſtate, they are found to contain in themſelves; abſtracted from any extraordinary accidents, either favourable or adverſe.

SECT. III.

VIII. I ſay then, that humble fortune according to its intrinſic value, if it does not exceed, is at leaſt equal to the exalted. In order to give at once a clear and a ſolid proof of this fact, which may ſeem a myſtery, it ſhould be underſtood as a certain truth, that riches do not conſtitute happineſs in men, in proportion to their material magnitude, but in proportion to what is enjoyed of them, either with reſpect to convenience, or the pleaſure they occaſion. What is a rich man the better, for having his table covered with a variety of delicate eatables, if he has loſt his appetite? with all his dainties, he cannot be ſaid to regale himſelf; and it fares much better in point of gratification with a poor man, who eats of a coarſe diſh, if his palate embraces it with earneſtneſs.

IX. The compariſon of reliſh with reſpect to food, may be applied to all our other ſenſes and faculties with reſpect to their objects; for let theſe be gratified and delighted to whatever degree you can ſuppoſe, the pleaſure produced in every individual, will tally with the diſpoſition of

the organ; and therefore, the greater or leſſer degree of felicity of the ſubject, in the uſe of thoſe objects, ſhould be meaſured, not by the entative magnitude which is contained in them, but by the delight they afford. This being the caſe, you will find, that vaſt riches do not furniſh to an opulent man greater enjoyments, nor turn aſide from him more vexations, than is afforded to, and diverted from a poor man with his ſcanty means; and you will conclude, thoſe are not more happy than theſe, and that conſequently the fortunes of both are equal.

X. But how are we to know the hearts, and what paſſes in the breaſts of perſons in the one and the other ſtate? Nothing is more eaſy. Nero erected a temple to Fortune, which he built with tranſparent ſtones, found in his days in Capadocia; ſo that from the outſide, although the doors were ſhut, you could ſee all that paſſed within the temple. And nature has ſo made mankind, that from without, you may diſcern their good or bad interior ſituation, their looks for this purpoſe ſupplying the uſe of tranſparent ſtones, and their lips expreſſing their pleaſures and vexations. Obſerve, ſays Seneca, (Epiſt. 80.) through the cryſtal of their countenances, the receſſes of the boſoms of the rich and the poor: *compara inter ſe pauperum & divitum vultus*, and you will moſt

moſt frequently find the laſt more chearful than the firſt: *ſæpius pauper, & fidelius ridet.* In this inſtance, he gives the preference to the condition of the poor; in other reſpects, he ſuppoſes the benefits of both ſtations to be equal: obſerve, ſays he, the greateſt part of the poor people, and you will find, that they are in no reſpect more ſad or oppreſſed than the rich: *primum aſpice quanto major pars ſit pauperum, quos nihilo notabis triſtiores, ſolicitioreſque divitibus.* (In conſolat. ad Helviam.)

XI. Saint Auſtin found great benefit, from a reflection he made, upon ſeeing a Mendicant Friar go through a village in the ſtate of Milan, to all appearance quite chearful and happy. He compared his own fortune with that of the poor man, and found, that he was joyous, and himſelf oppreſſed; that he was free from apprehenſions, and himſelf full of terrors: *Et certè ille lætabatur, ego anxius eram; ſecurus ille, ego trepidus;* and from thence he concluded, the fortune of that Mendicant was much better than his own: *Nimirum quippe ille felicior erat.* (Confeſſ. lib. 6. cap. 6.)

XII. This is viewing things according to what they are in their own nature. To eſtimate the felicity of any man, you ſhould not conſider the goods he poſſeſſes, but the enjoyment he receives

from the poſſeſſion of them. Although the rich man always ſits down to a ſplendid banquet, a poor man regales himſelf better than him, if, as is moſt commonly the caſe, he knows better what he eats. No man will ſay, that the exiſtence of riches without their uſe is of any value. It is neceſſary, in order to reliſh their ſweets, that you ſhould expend them. They are a good of ſuch a nature, that they can only be enjoyed when you part with them. He who keeps his gold in a cheſt may receive ſome ſatisfaction in contemplating, that he has it at his command, but that is much inferior to the inevitable chagrin, which attends his continual care and anxiety. Horace ſung wiſely, who held, that convenience conſiſted more in the want, than in the poſſeſſion of ſuch goods, as their concern for the preſervation of kept people in conſtant alarms and terrors night and day, for fear a thief ſhould break in and ſteal them, an unfaithful ſervant purloin them, or a fire conſume them.

An vigilare metu exanimem, noctesque dieſque
Formidare malos fures, incendia, ſervos
Ne te compilent fugientes, hoc juvat? Horum
Semper ego optarim pauperimus eſſe bonorum.

Lib. 1. Sat. 1.

XIII. Quickſilver occaſions continual tremors to him who works it in the mines; gold and ſilver, to him who keeps and turns them over in a cheſt. There

There is no doubt, but the pleaſure of finding himſelf rich is greateſt in a covetous man, but his care and anxiety are exceſſive in proportion to it. Beſides this, he is not ſo much gratified by the goods he enjoys, as he is made uneaſy by the deſire of poſſeſſing thoſe he is not maſter of. There is always in his heart an immenſe vacuum, as obnoxious to his avarice, as a vacuum in all bodies is to nature, and his thirſt is of the dropſical kind, ſo that the more he drinks, the more he craves.

XIV. Upon a ſuppoſition then, that inſtead of convenience, there is evil and vexation in the mere poſſeſſion of riches, let us proceed to take a view of the benefits that may reſult from their uſe. And firſt, riches to a very large amount, are exceedingly ſuperfluous for furniſhing the accommodations of life. If a man, poſſeſſed of a few thouſands of crowns, can find ſufficient to purchaſe all that can be reaſonably deſired, of what uſe are millions? To what purpoſe ſhould he who finds water ſufficient for all his occaſions in a little fountain, bring a river into his houſe? He would acquire nothing by ſuch an act, but the hatred and indignation of thoſe, who ſee, that without utility to himſelf, a man monopolizes a ſtock of water, ſufficient to accommodate a whole town; by doing which, he expoſes himſelf to the malicious deſigns that a wicked and

perverſe perſon may form to take away his life, in hopes that by perpetrating the fatal deed, he might become maſter of his property; and it is certain, that many perſons from ſuch a motive only, have fallen victims to the knife or to poiſon; ſo that an exceſs of doubloons to the owner, are rather things of weight, than things of worth. I mean, that inſtead of a convenience, they are dangerous, and an evil of life.

XV. But though they are not neceſſary to furniſh the reaſonable accommodations of life, they may be ſerviceable to purchaſe the pleaſures of it. Upon this head much may be ſaid. The natural deſires of the greateſt part of mankind, are fixed upon ſuch objects, that with a moderate income, they are able to ſatisfy all their real wants. Meat and drink that might be ſtiled regaling, the diverſion of hunting, and frequent amuſement at play, may be all attained with a moderate portion of thouſands. Of what advantage are immenſe riches to him, whoſe whole delight is centered in the cup and the diſh, if he cannot eat or drink more than the proportion of a ſingle man; and if, urged by his gluttony, he ſtrives to cram down as much as would ſerve two, he would ſoon deſtroy his health, and not be able to eat a ſufficient quantity to ſatisfy half a man. A perſon ſpending his ſubſtance, in diverſions that are not ſuited to his genius or inclination,

tion, is throwing it away intirely. The ſweetneſs or ſoothing of muſic, is allowed to be the greateſt enchantment exiſting in the world, but what charms has it to him who wants an ear, or cannot reliſh it? The vaſſals of Antæus, an ancient King of Scythia, having taken Yſmenias, the famous Theban muſician, a priſoner in war, preſented him to their maſter as a prize of great value. Anteus after hearing him awhile, declared, that the neighing of his horſe ſounded better to him than all the fine tones of Yſmenias. Nor ſhould we underſtand, that the want of muſical feeling is confined to one ſingle barbarous genius, for not only the tigers fly from the lyre, but many cultivated ſpirits are deaf as adders to the charms of muſic. It is told of Juſtus Lipſius, that he abhorred muſic, and that his whole delight was in flowers and dogs. Many men are inſenſible of the recreation afforded by harmony; and thoſe who are not, for the moſt part content themſelves with a coarſe ſort of muſic, which may be had at a cheap rate, and often for nothing. The remarks we have made on muſic, may be applied generally to all other kinds of amuſement. How many are there, who cannot endure ſo much as to be in company with, or to converſe with women! Flowers, which are the moſt beautiful production of nature, and with which the fields are cloathed with more ſplendor and gaiety than Solomon in all his glory, to ſome

people are not only ungrateful, but noxious alſo. There have been thoſe, who the fragrancy of a roſe has cauſed to fall into a fainting fit. Cardinal Esfrondati, in his Curſo Philoſophica, relates of another Cardinal, that during the whole time of the ſpring, he kept a watch at the door, to prevent a roſe being brought into his houſe. Spacious gardens afford but a ſlender delight to abundance of men, and to many, not even that ſlender one; beſides this, in time, it becomes a ſickening amuſement, which with regard to the gardens of others may be removed, but not with regard to a man's own; for that being always in his view, he comes at laſt to loath the ſight of it.

SECT. V.

XVI. Thus with reſpect to many individuals, all that is attracting is comprehended in objects of little value. It is true however, that if you could collect all theſe into one heap, they would amount to ſomething conſiderable. But to what end ſhould people endeavour this? I am ſure I don't know, nor many times they themſelves neither. What paſſed between Pyrrhus, King of Albania, and his wiſe friend and counſellor Cineus, is pleaſant, and applicable to this matter. Cineus ſaid to that prince in a converſation between them, the ſubject of which was Pyrrhus's intended invaſion of the Romans; "Truly, Sir, the undertaking

undertaking is difficult, for we ſhall have to do with a martial, and a powerful people; but ſuppoſing the ſucceſs of our arms to be ſo great, as that we ſhould ſubdue the Romans, what fruit ſhall we reap by the conqueſt?" "Are you at a loſs to find out that, anſwered Pyrrhus? Shall not we make ourſelves maſters of all Italy?" And what ſhall we do afterwards, replied Cineus? Pyrrhus anſwered, "We will conquer Sicily, which is in the neighbourhood, and may be eaſily ſubdued." "That will be a great thing, ſaid Cineus; but when that's done, ſhall we put an end to the war?" Pyrrhus, who had not yet penetrated the drift of Cineus in aſking all theſe queſtions, anſwered, "By no means; after conquering Sicily, we will proceed to Africa, and poſſeſs ourſelves of Carthage, and the adjacent kingdoms." "You are clear, ſaid Cineus, that the Gods will indulge you with all this good fortune; but when this is done, what are we to employ ourſelves about next?" "We will return, ſaid Pyrrhus, to our own country, cloathed with immenſe power, and we will conquer all the Empire of Greece." "Having conquered Greece, replied Cineus, what are we to do then?" "When this is compleated, anſwered Pyrrhus, we will paſs the remainder of our lives in ſoft and ſublime indolence, without thinking of any thing but banquets, and feſtive ſociety." Here Cineus, who had without the King's being aware of him, entangled him in the net, ſaid laughingly; "But

pray Sir, what ſhould hinder us from beginning to enjoy all this happineſs at this inſtant of time? Is not the kingdom you are poſſeſſed of ſufficient to furniſh you banquets, and every other kind of regale? To what end then, ſhould you conquer provinces and croſs ſeas, waſting your health, and expoſing your life to the rage of waves, and fury of battles?"

XVIII. This reaſoning, which is taken almoſt literally from Plutarch, is well adapted, not only to that ambitious Prince, but may be alſo properly applied to an infinite number of other men; who accumulate riches upon riches, at the expence of dangers and fatigues, and who, without knowing what they are in purſuit of, run a vicious and an erroneous courſe, in ſearch of the very thing they poſſeſs. The pride of Philip King of Macedon, was mortified with great addreſs by Archidamus the IIId, King of Sparta, whom Philip had overcome in a battle; and the day after wrote Archidamus a letter, full of arrogance and inſult; to which Archidamus anſwered, That if he would place himſelf in the ſun, he would find that his ſhadow was not a jot bigger after, than it was the day before the battle. Thus it is, that fortune aggrandizes, but adds nothing to the ſtature.

SECT.

SECT. VI.

XVIII. Thoſe, who are under the dominion of ambition and avarice, invert the order and nature of things; placing the end in the means of attaining it. They deſire more, only to hoard more, and to have more power, merely for the ſake of domineering more. But how does it fare with ſuch people? why that they are always unhappy; becauſe the hunger and thirſt of their deſires is never appeaſed, but either remains conſtantly in the ſame ſtate, or elſe proceeds to acquire freſh augmentations. The weight of honour and riches has the ſame effect on the human heart, which weights have upon a clock; the greater they are, they cauſe the machine to be more violently agitated, and to move with greater impetuoſity. The paſſions go on to diſplay a ſucceſſion of cavities, as the firſt openings are continued to be filled up. At firſt, the thirſt can be ſatisfied with a fountain; after having grown into a dropſy, it requires a river to ſatisfy it, and after having ſwallowed the river, it craves the ocean: *Ecce abſorbebit fluvium, & non mirabitur.* Alexander in his firſt ſchemes of ambition, had nothing further in view, than the deſtruction of Thebes, and the conqueſt of Thrace and Illyricum; having compleated this, he took it into his head to ſubdue the Aſiatic Empire, and

and when he was in quiet poſſeſſion of that, upon hearing a philoſopher ſay, there were more worlds, he wept with grief, becauſe that being the caſe, his ambition could not be ſatiated with the conqueſt of one only; which cauſed Juvenal to ſing as follows:

Unus Pellæo juveni non ſufficit orbis.

XIX. Thoſe who endeavour to acquire riches to make uſe of them, and to employ them in pleaſures, ſeem to have the advantage with reſpect to temporal convenience. For who can diſpute the happineſs of him, who being maſter of great riches, makes them the tributaries of his appetites? ſo the world judges, and the world deceives itſelf. The moſt able man that the world ever produced, and the beſt qualified to give an opinion in this matter from his own experience, was Solomon, as there was not upon earth, a man who was richer, or even ſo rich, as him, nor did any man expend his riches with more prodigality to procure enjoyments; in the doing of which, he had this advantageous circumſtance in his favour, to wit, his great wiſdom and knowledge of nature; which taught him the means that were the beſt adapted, and the moſt likely to furniſh delight, and which was the beſt method, of applying objects to enchant the ſenſes: I ſay, hear this man's ſentiments on the ſubject, who himſelf confeſſes, that he had given a looſe

to

to his pleaſures, and gratified them with every thing their voracity craved: *Omnia, quæ deſideraverunt oculi mei, non negavi eis: nec prohibui cor meum, quin omni voluptate frueretur.* And what did he meet with in this ſea of delights? nothing but bitter waters: he found that all was vanity and vexation of ſpirit: *Vidi in omnibus vanitatem, & afflictionem animi*; and he found it ſo to ſuch an extreme degree, as to make his life a burthen to him: *Idcirco tæduit me vitæ meæ.*

XX. This is exalted and brilliant fortune; and ſo exalted, that the fortune of no man ever roſe to a more ſublime degree of altitude. I aſk now, if the moſt miſerable man in the world can find his heart placed in a ſtate of greater anguiſh, than when he endures the irkſome ſenſation, of loathing, or being tired of his exiſtence? We know that Job uſed no other phraſe, to expreſs the profound agony which his ſingular calamity had brought upon him: *Tædet animam meam vitæ meæ.*

XXI. What Solomon ſays is infallible, becauſe the church has received that book as canonical. But though it ſhould be confeſſed, that the truth of this matter is an article of faith, it alſo appears myſterious: for how could ſo much bitterneſs, be contained in the greateſt delights? Solomon did not chuſe to decipher this enigma, although

though his abilities would have permitted him to do it with the greateſt eaſe. Let us ſee if I can hit upon its explanation, and I think I ſhall.

SECT. VII.

XXII. My firſt poſition is, that he who enjoys the moſt delights, is the man who enjoys the feweſt; and I might even ſay, he enjoys none at all; but although this is another enigma more puzzling than the firſt, I ſhall eaſily extricate myſelf from the difficulty of ſolving both the one and the other. I aſk in the firſt place, can meat or drink afford pleaſure or gratification to a man, who eats without being hungry, and drinks without being thirſty? every one will readily acknowledge, little or none; but in this manner, do ſuch opulent men as hold a looſe rein on their appetites, enjoy delectable objects. The objects anticipate the deſires. Hunger does not await the food, thirſt the drink, nor luſt the concupiſcence. How then? do they make uſe of that for which they have no inclination? in the beginning, no; in the progreſs and the end, yes. The opulent man, who gives himſelf up to pleaſure, begins very early in his courſe, to acquire a habit of gluttony in all his paſſions; by which means, in a very ſhort time, the leaſt glimpſe of deſire attracts him to the object. Even though his paſſion has been quite ſtifled by the antecedent enjoyment,

enjoyment, new craving ſcarce begins to revive in embryo, when he gives himſelf up to freſh ſatiety; and as at ſuch a criſis, concupiſcence muſt be very languid, the enjoyment of courſe can be but inſipid. This habit, by the immenſe repetition of acts, goes on every day, acquiring more and more force, till it excites men at laſt to drink of the forbidden liquor, when they are not the leaſt ſtimulated by thirſt. Here you ſee a man arrived at a ſtate, in which, without taſting pleaſure, or being able to experience gratification, he continues to deſtroy his health, and ſhorten his life.

XXIII. But I have not yet explained all the evil. The worſt is, that hunger and ſatiety come to be joined together. If I ſay that the rich man who is filled, is as ſenſible of hunger as the poor man who is really hungry; it will be thought that I am propounding a new paradox, or at leaſt a new riddle. But this ſhall not deter me from ſpeaking the truth. The hungry poor man hungers after food, the hungry rich one hungers after hunger itſelf. He who is diſtreſſed, and in want of what is preciſely neceſſary, craves for aliment. The glutton, who after having filled his belly, ſees his table covered with dainties, craves for an appetite. The firſt is unhappy, becauſe he wants what is needful for him, the other, becauſe he can't enjoy what he has. There is little difference

ference in point of pain or uneaſineſs, between him who is really in want of water, and him who is oppreſſed with a dropſical thirſt.

XXIV. This depraved craving, this flame, which raiſes itſelf upon the aſhes of another fire, worſt or laſt diſeaſe of concupiſcence, or of the concupiſcence of the ſuperior part of the ſoul, oppreſſes thoſe much, who, when they attain the pinnacle of power, arrive at the ſummit of perverſeneſs; whoſe whole purſuit, has been ſeeking provocations for the appetite, dainties to feed their ſenſuality, and extravagant incentives to inflame deſire. In looking for the exquiſite, they found the monſtrous. Heliogabalus went ſo far, as to make a banquet, all compoſed of the combs of cocks. Nero exerciſed his luſt, cloathed in the ſkins of wild beaſts, which was a habit, well ſuited to the character of that brute. So extravagant were the abominations of other Emperors, that neither the courſe of ſo many ages, nor the fragrance of ſuch number of ſaints as have lived ſince, have diſſipated at Rome, the ſtink of the Princes of thoſe times. But with all their ſolicitude, what did they obtain? Nothing; they only augmented the violence of a bad habit, and cauſed it to exert itſelf in loathing. Pleaſure in the mean while fled away, like the water of Tantalus, which, notwithſtanding he ſeemed to have it always within his reach, his exceſſive anticipation of laying

laying hold of it, was the occaſion of his not being able to obtain it. Theſe people, with all their toil, only acquired anxieties of mind, ſickneſs, and bodily pain. And it is worthy of remarking, that thoſe who gave themſelves up to gluttony and luſt, became melancholy, peeviſh, and diſagreeable; and it may be from this cauſe, that we have rarely heard of a Prince, who was laſcivious and a glutton, in whom cruelty was not joined to thoſe vices. Some of them came to be tired of themſelves, for inſtance, the ſecond Apicius, who, after gorging two millions and a half, deprived himſelf of life with a halter. What was this, but finding vanity and vexation of ſpirit, among the greateſt endowments of fortune? Do even the miſerably poor, think you, lead ſo unſavoury and tireſome lives?

SECT. VIII.

XXV. Truly, I have now purſued the compariſon of the one and the other fortune, through the moſt difficult part, having drawn into the parallel, the moſt elevated, and the moſt abaſed, the ſovereign ſtate, and that of beggary. I did not intend ſo much when I began to write this chapter, but the pen took a flight without my being aware of it, towards the extreme of both the extremities. So much was not neceſſary, but as it is done, let us ſuppoſe that we have conquered all

the difficulty at the firſt onſet; becauſe, if he who is under the feet of fortune, is equal to him who treads the ſummit of her wheel; the reaſon is ſtronger, for ſuppoſing him who has no more than what is required to provide things that are preciſely neceſſary, equal to the man, who is poſſeſſed of a princely fortune.

XXVI. The truth is, if we are to ſpeak out, that he is not only equal, but ſuperior. Upon a ſuperficial view, the rich man appears to be better accommodated, and expoſed to fewer inconveniencies than the poor one, but if you ſeach to the bottom, you will find the reverſe. The rich man has great abundance, and variety of delicious eatables; but do they taſte more ſavoury to him, than his common coarſe food to the poor one? no, nor ſo ſavoury, for the appetite with which the poor man ſits down to table, more than compenſates, for the advantage derived to the rich one by his exceſs. Of what conſequence is it to the bees of Lithuania, a rude and unpleaſant country, that they have not ſuch beautiful and odoriferous flowers to gather from, as the bees of other countries; if from their own trifling and unpleaſing ones, they extract the ſweeteſt and beſt-flavoured honey that is to be found in all Europe? The rich man lays himſelf down on a feather-bed, but does he ſleep more, or better than a poor one on a truſs

truſs of ſtraw? You ſee that the poor man, always riſes chearful and pleaſant, and that the other, often complains of having paſſed an uneaſy night. How many people ſlept ſweetly on the hard ground, the ſame night, that king Ahaſuerus not being able to take reſt, was conſtrained to amuſe himſelf with reading the annals of his Kingdom! The rich defend themſelves from the rigours of cold, with thick walls, tapeſtry hangings, and furred garments; but obſerve, and you will find, that they complain more of the intemperance of the ſeaſon, ſhut up within the walls of their palaces, than the ſhepherd covered with ſkins, on the heights of the mountain. David, when he was grown old, found it difficult to defend himſelf from the cold, with all the covering he could put on, when at the ſame time, many antient labourers, with half the cloathing, made light of the froſts. You will ſee at every turn, an opulent man trembling, and expreſſing his extreme ſenſations of cold, whenever he is obliged to leave the fire-ſide, while at the ſame time, the common people are paſſing chearfully along the ſtreet. The ſame difference is obſerveable in ſummer. The rich man is low ſpirited and oppreſſed with laſſitude, and ſcarce ventures to go up ſtairs or down; while the common people, with alacrity and chearfulneſs, apply themſelves to whatever falls in their way. So that what

Dionyſius of Sicily, ſaid of the golden cloak, which covered the ſtatue of Jupiter, by way of furniſhing a pretence to plunder it, may be applied to the riches of opulent people; which was, that a cloth cloak was better, becauſe the golden one in winter, did not defend him from the cold, and in ſummer, it fatigued him with its weight. The opulent man, inhabits a capacious and commodious palace, and never contented, he is always thinking of enlarging or improving it, but the thought of his habitation being too confined, ſcarce ever occurs to a poor man in the whole courſe of a year.

XXVII. The rich man wears fine holland, the poor one coarſe dowlas; but tell me, if you ever heard a poor man complain, that the roughneſs of the dowlas was unpleaſant to, or gave him bodily uneaſineſs. The rich man is idle, and the poor one at work all the day; but you will not obſerve, that the poor man is more ſad at his work, than the rich one in his ſtate of indolence; on the contrary, and eſpecially if he works in company, his time paſſes merrily, and he goes on ſinging and chanting through the whole courſe of his labour. When that is over, his relaxation is not like that of the rich, an inſipid indolence, but ſweet repoſe, and in the concluſion, ſoft and uninterrupted ſleep recompences the labour of the day. The rich, on the contrary, (as ſleep does not ſit eaſy on members

which

which have not been exerciſed,) reſtleſs and impatient, turns a thouſand times in his bed; ſo that the poor man may be ſaid to work by day, and the rich one by night. In caſe of going a journey, it is true, the rich man travels either on horſeback or in a coach, and the poor one on foot. Notwithſtanding which, the rich man is more ſenſible of the inclemency of the weather, and is much more affected by an incommodious lodging-room, a hard bed, and the want of refreſhment than the poor one; to whom, by his being accuſtomed to them, ſuch things are familiar, and conſequently they do not make him uneaſy. I, in my journies, have remarked, that the lad who attended me on foot, ſeemed much leſs ſenſible of the difficulties and inconveniencies of the road, than myſelf. You may add to this, the dread of thieves, from whom the poor have nothing to fear, when the rich, behind the trunk of every tree they come near, fancy they ſee a robber.

XXVIII. If we would weigh the pleaſures of one and the other ſtate, we ſhould attend to the remark of Seneca before cited: *Inſpice pauperum, & divitum vultus.* You will obſerve the poor, chearful in their converſation, laughing from their hearts at their ruſtic balls, and in all appearance truly happy: *Sæpius pauper, & fidelius ridet.* On the contrary, you will ſee the rich, even at their feſtive meetings, ſeem tired and ſurfeited.

At leaſt, happineſs does not ſhine ſo brilliant in their countenances, as in thoſe of the poor.

XXIX. All theſe diſproportions, ſpring from, or grow out of one general principle, which is this; nature left to herſelf, is contented with a little, but by attempting to poliſh her, you faſhion her into a fantaſtical lady, who craves every thing, and deſpiſes every thing. A human heart with three ventricles, in the year 1699, was preſented to the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, as the moſt monſtrous production that had ever been ſeen; but morally and politically ſpeaking, it is a monſter we ſee every day. The human heart, naturally contains but two large cavities; but if you fill theſe with worldly goods, a ſucceſſion of others will begin to open, and others ſtill without end. Pleaſure and delight, are nothing to a man who does not conſider and feel them as ſuch, and no man conſiders that as a regale, which he is uſed and accuſtomed to; or which is adapted and familiar to his own ſphere of life. Therefore delicate food, is delicate to him only, who has been uſed to eat plain victuals; but dainties, are familiar and common things to the man who has been accuſtomed to feed on them, and therefore, he craves ſomething more exquiſite. Even variety itſelf, to him who is uſed to vary his objects every day, that they may tally with his inclinations, loſes all the enchantment which it originally

originally contained. A poor man taſtes more pleaſure in feeding on a common fiſh at his own homely board, than Caius Hirtius, in eating with great pomp, his moſt regaling Murenas; and he is more happy, when he adds to his inheritance a foot of land, than Alexander was, when he added to his conqueſts the City of Tyre.

SECT. IX.

XXX. If we were to compare the anxieties incident to the one and the other ſtate, as we have done the pleaſures, we ſhould find, that by much the greateſt load of the firſt, would reſt on the ſhoulders of the rich; either from the greater ſenſibility of the ſubjects, or from the greater magnitude, or multitude of their cares. The rich are of a delicate texture, liable to be moved and diſturbed with every blaſt, or made of ſonorous metal, which complains loudly at the gentleſt touch. They may be compared to a well at Chiapa, a Province in New Spain, from which, by throwing in a ſmall ſtone, you raiſe a horrible tempeſt. Hence the furious perturbations which in the opulent, are produced by ſlight cauſes. The Sultan Mahomed the Second, was ſeized with ſuch a barbarous rage upon miſſing a melon out of his garden, that he ordered the ſtomachs of fourteen pages to be opened, to diſ-

cover who had eaten it. And Otho Antonio, Duke of Urbino, ordered one of his ſervants to be burnt alive, for having neglected to wake him at the time he had appointed.

XXXI. The toils of the great are alſo more in number, than thoſe of the poor. The larger the bulk of a man, the fairer mark he is for his enemy to hit; and the greater the amplitude of his fortune, the larger the ſpace is expoſed to the wounds of adverſity. The rich are high towers, the poor humble cottages, and the ray of lightning, oftner diſcharges its fury on the tower, than on the cottage. One of the greateſt temporal evils that can befal a man, is a broken conſtitution, as the greateſt temporal bleſſing, is a robuſt ſtate of health. And there is no doubt, but that with equal ſtamina, a poor man is more healthy than a rich one, becauſe the laſt injures his health by his exceſſes, and the other, preſerves his by his ſobriety. Of what avail are all a great man's riches to him, when he is oppreſſed by a fit of the gout? (and the gout, by the way, is a diſtemper which ſeldom attacks the poor.) I ſay what is he the better for them, if they cannot procure him a remedy for the evil, nor even obtain him the leaſt eaſe or relief? While the fit laſts, he ſuffers pain; and when it is over, he endures the terrors and apprehenſions of freſh attacks. Solomon pronounced the following

following ſentence, which is applicable to all the rich: *Quid prodeſt poſſeſſori, niſi quod cernat divitias oculis ſuis?* Of what other uſe are riches to a man who poſſeſſes vaſt treaſures, than to feaſt his eyes with the ſight of them. But the ſentence is more ſtrongly applicable, to an opulent man of a bad conſtitution, who is conſtantly ailing.

XXXII. A great man has more cares, and conſequently more to vex him, than an humble one. More people are envious of him, and conſequently he has more enemies. He is deſirous of aggrandizing his fortune ſtill more, and grieves at every little obſtacle he meets with; which he conſiders as a ſteep rock in the way of his purſuits. From thoſe below him, he expects more homage; and one only, as in the caſe of Mordecai and Haman, refuſing to bend the knee to him, is ſufficient to make him unhappy. He is anxious to be upon an equality with his ſuperiors, and when he ſees any one, whom he looks upon as his equal, or his inferior, ſtep before him, he can hardly contain himſelf. There was a famous painter, named Francis of France, rich, both in poſſeſſions and fame. When this man was at Bolognia, he ſaw a figure of Saint Cecilia, which had been painted by Raphael of Urbino, for a church in that city; and ſeeing, and being ſenſible, how much he was outdone in the uſe of the pencil, by that incomparable artiſt,

it

it ſo affected him, that he fell ſick and died in a few days. It cannot be ſaid with truth, that ever a poor man died from ſuch a cauſe, or of ſuch an affection.

XXXIII. Fears and apprehenſions, in which are contained the moſt ſevere martyrdom of life; becauſe by means of them, people endure all future, and all poſſible evils, have their very neſts in the hearts of the great. He who is oppreſſed with evils, is always grieving; he who is poſſeſſed of goods, is always fearing: and what is more afflicting than perpetual terror? The dangers which threaten a great man, are in proportion to the poſſible caſes, of others enriching themſelves by deſpoiling, or murdering him; and though theſe are many, in his imagination they are ſtill more; ſo that riches are acquired by toil, and preſerved by anxiety. The inhabitants of Macaſar, an Iſland in the Indian Sea, have a cuſtom of drawing ſome of their teeth, and putting gold or ſilver ones in the place of them, which practice, cannot fail to be troubleſome and hurtful to them. Can any thing ſavour ſtronger of barbariſm, than the ſuffering a voluntary pain, only to gain an inconvenience? Thoſe fall into the ſame miſtake, who pant for, and are anxious in their purſuit after riches. They draw their teeth, that is, they undergo great ſufferings in order to

acquire more wealth; and in the room of thoſe they have parted with, they get teeth of gold and ſilver, yes, but theſe are teeth, which in the end, will feed on, and gnaw their own hearts. It is very remarkable, that in the age of gold and ſilver, (according to the deſcription given, and the diviſion made of the four ages by the poets,) there was no gold or ſilver to be met with, but theſe metals made their appearance in the age of iron. Thus Ovid, ſpeaking of this age:

——— Itum eſt in viſcera terræ
Quaſque recondiderat, Stygiiſque admoverat umbris
Effodiuntur opes irritamenta malorum.
Jamque nocens ferrum, ferroque nocentius aurum
Prodierat, prodit bellum quod pugnat utroque.

XXXIV. The age of gold paſſed without gold, and was therefore the Golden Age, that is fortunate and happy. In the age of iron, there was gold, and on that account, it was called the Iron Age, that is, it was harſh and toilſome.

XXXV. Lucan, in his fifth Book of the Civil War, makes a fine digreſſion upon the happineſs of the poor boatman, Amiclas, when he paints Cæſar, in the ſilence of the night, tapping at the door of his cabbin to awake him, and make him riſe, and carry him with all poſſible haſte to Calabria. All the world was agitated, and trembling

bling with the movements of the civil war; and within Greece itſelf, which is the theatre of the war, in the very neighbourhood of the armies, a poor boatman on dried ſheep ſkins, ſleeps without fear. The ſtrokes of the generous leader at his door awake him, without producing the leaſt ſurprize in his breaſt; for although he was not ignorant, that the whole face of the country was covered with troops, he knew very well, there was nothing in his cabbin to invite military inſults. O life of the poor, exclaims the poet, in which is contained the felicity of being exempt from outrages. O poverty! thou greateſt bleſſing of heaven, although not recognized or juſtly valued by men. What palaces or what temples were there, which enjoyed the privilege of Amiclas and his cabbin, neither of which, could be made to tremble at the ſtrokes of the robuſt hand of Cæſar!

——— *O vita tuta facultas*
Pauperis, anguſtique lares! O munera nondum
Intellecta divûm. Quibus hoc contingere templis;
Aut potuit muris, nullo trepidare tumultu
Cæſarea pulſante manu!

XXXVI. It is not to be wondered at, that temples and palaces ſhould be ſhaken, when cottages remain ſecure; becauſe in temples and palaces, riches are kept, therefore in them, there is no being

being free from alarms. If we compare the fortune of Amiclas, with the lives of Cæsar and Pompey, who were all contemporaries; how brilliant were theirs, how obscure was his; but if you consider them prudently, how much preferable was that of Amiclas. Those ambitious heroes, whose elevated splendor, made the world regard them as two suns, were in reality no more than parahelions, or suns in appearance only, false reflections, stamped in the inconstancy of flying clouds. How far were they from happy, each being constantly tormented with the jealousy of the other's power.

Et jam nemo ferre potest, Cæsar ve priorem
Pompeiusve parem.

XXXVII. They contend for the Empire, hazarding in the competition, life and liberty. How each is possessed, with the fear of his rival becoming victorious; what miserable forsaken man, did fortune ever place in such a strait, that in order to better his condition, he should be obliged like Cæsar, in the dead of the night, to commit himself to the rage of a tempestuous sea? Amiclas, at the same time, knows no other cares, than those of exploring the sea, and spreading his nets to dry in the sun. Others are agitated and tossed about on the plains, and in the fields, while he is secure amidst the waves.

He catches fiſh in the ſea, while others on land fiſh for tempeſts. At the expence of a little labour, the water affords him as much as is neceſſary to ſupport life; when the great fatigues of Cæſar and Pompey, ſerve only to precipitate on them a violent death. The din of ſo much martial noiſe, diſturbs not his reſt; while each of the two chiefs, finds in his own heart, a continual alarm to awaken him. He fears nobody, becauſe no one covets his fortune; but if any body ſhould be ſo prudent as to covet it, he may enjoy the ſame thing, without deſpoiling Amiclas. Cæſar and Pompey for the preſent, mutually fear each other. The vanquiſhed perſon in future, fears all the world, and the conqueror has to fear all thoſe who envy him.

XXXVIII. The heathen poets, feigned poverty to be a divinity, on account of the miſchiefs it preſerved people from, and the goods it produced; but Lucan, calls it the mother of great men; and Horace ſays, that to this deity, the Romans owed the virtues of a Curius, and a Camillus. Ariſtophanes the Greek, erred much in his deſcription, when he repreſented her as a ſavage fury, always ready to commit acts of deſperation. Theſe extraordinary furies, are much more common among the rich, than the poor, although it is true, that they rage with the greateſt violence, in ſuch poor people as have been

been formerly rich; at leaſt, during the time they are in the noviciate ſtate of their misfortunes.

SECT. X.

XXXIX. I would not have it be underſtood, that by the eulogium I have juſt ended on poverty, I mean to ſpeak of abſolute poverty, but of the relative; not of the ſtate of beggary, where people are in want of what is preciſely needful; but of that limited moderation, which adminiſters to nature, no more than what is abſolutely neceſſary, and what her wants demand; and that, at the expence of bodily labour. In truth, when I ſpeak of beggars, I am at a loſs what to ſay, or what deciſion to make concerning them. On the one hand, I ſee them ſuffer great inconveniences, and on the other, I ſee many people betake themſelves to that way of life, who could earn their living by their labour, and who prefer going from door to door, to working in the field, or even to leading an idle life in an almshouſe. Henricus Cornelius Agrippa, in his Book on the Vanity of the Sciences, ſays of thoſe who go about pretending to occult ſcience, that they would not change their condition, for that of nobility; and I believe he ſays right.

XL. All thoſe voluntary poor, who are not ſo in the goſpel ſenſe, and for that reaſon, not comprehended

prehended in the benediction of Chriſt, are the peſts of the ſtates they inhabit, or where they ſtrole about. They live well, not only without being of the leaſt advantage, but are even an injury to the community. Like the ants, they are ſerviceable to themſelves only, and a nuiſance in the place where they make their neſts, and where they run about. For which reaſon, they are not tolerated in any republic, that is governed by the maxims of good policy.

XLI. Diſabled or impotent beggars, are legitimate creditors of our compaſſion. There is notwithſtanding, great difference among thoſe of this claſs. Thoſe who are afflicted with habitual diſorders, it cannot be denied, are very miſerable, and eſpecially if they do not ſweeten their toil, with a due reſignation to the divine will; but if they do, they will become the moſt happy, or thoſe, who fall within our Saviour's deſcription of the moſt fortunate. The diſabled by the loſs of a limb, or by a defect in the organization of parts of their bodies, if they have a tolerable ſhare of ingenuity, and have the art of begging with addreſs, fare admirably; and not a few of them, have left behind at their deaths decent ſums of money. Thoſe who are ill-favoured, and ugly, find it difficult to ſubſiſt, eſpecially, if naſtineſs in their perſons, is joined to the deformity of their bodies. The error into which people fall

fall, in the ordinary diſtribution of charity in this particular, is great, they being apt to deal out their bounty with an unequal hand. The beggar, who has a pleaſing and moving way of painting his diſtreſs, is relieved by almoſt every one, and more eſpecially if he has a good countenance, and looks clean in his ſhabby dreſs. There is ſcarce any body who does not ſhun and loath the ill-favoured and driveling poor: but we ought to remember, that Chriſt our Lord, is as much the repreſentative of the one, as of the other; and as a Redeemer, is rather inclined to favour thoſe of the moſt diſpleaſing and deſpicable aſpect: thus Iſaias deſcribes him in his moſt ſacred paſſion, *Non eſt ſpecies ei, neque decor:* and a little lower, *Quaſi abſconditus vultus ejus, & deſpectus.* And that chriſtian piety ſhould not deſpiſe, or avoid thoſe who are afflicted with loathſome diſeaſes, the ſame Prophet compares our Saviour to the lepers, *Nos putavimus eum quaſi leproſum.*

XLII. But without having recourſe to ſo high a motive, natural reaſon will inſtruct us ſufficiently, that we ſhould not only diſtribute equally, but exceed in our donations, to thoſe who are deformed and of an unhappy aſpect, becauſe theſe laſt experience the moſt ſufferings, and are in the greateſt neceſſity. The others, as I obſerved before, will never want any body to aſſiſt them with

more than they ſtand in need of. The firſt require pity to be exerted in their favour with all its force, although their ungrateful appearance ſhould ſtrike us with horror. And I proteſt for myſelf, the alms which the narrowneſs of my fortune will permit me to beſtow, is diſtributed, much more in favour of thoſe of a diſguſting and a forbidding aſpect, than in favour of thoſe who have a perſuaſive manner, and a winning outward appearance.

XLIII. But it is proper that I ſhould repeat, that I did not intend to take into the compariſon I have been making, the ſort of poor I have juſt deſcribed; but thoſe only, who procure themſelves food, raiment, and ſhelter, by the ſweat of their brow, proportioned to the neceſſities of nature, without advancing to any kind of exceeding. This is what I call humble fortune, and that which I judge to be at leaſt equal to the exalted and brilliant, enjoyed by the opulent and great; and it ſeems to me, that I have ſufficiently proved it ſo. But I judge alſo, that the condition of thoſe who are placed in a middle ſtation of life, is preferable to either of them. I mean ſuch as poſſeſs a moderate income, and can go through life, without experiencing the pinchings of the one ſtate, or the troubles incident to the want of accommodations of the other.

SECT.

SECT. XI.

XLIV. I have hitherto treated of the happineſs of men, by making an eſtimate of it, according to their ſituations or conditions of life; abſtracted from any particular accidents, that may intervene or occur to inviduals of both ſorts, both high and low; there being no doubt but humble fortune, is alſo expoſed to terrible reverſes and mortifying diſguſts, although not ſo frequently as the exalted.

XLV. But if I am aſked, whom I repute abſolutely happy or unhappy among mortals? With reſpect to the happy, I anſwer with a ſentence of the great Chancellor Bacon, in his book entitled *Interiora Rerum:* where he ſays, I judge thoſe to be happy, whoſe mode of living is proportioned to their genius or inclination: *Felices dixerim, quorum indoles naturalis cum vitæ ſuæ genere congruit:* a deciſion, worthy of the ſuperior talents of that incomparable Engliſhman. I think, notwithſtanding, there ſhould be ſome limitation added to the ſentence, which is, that the genius or inclination ſhould not be a vicious one, for in that caſe the perſon would be always unhappy. The ambitious man, for example, although he finds himſelf in the occupation of high poſts, is ever reſtleſs and anxious to riſe to others ſtill higher. The co-

vetous man, even when he is overloaded with riches, labours and toils to add freſh treaſures to his heap. The opulent glutton fills himſelf with meat and drink, but he alſo fills himſelf with diſeaſes, which afterwards, turn all he has eaten and drunk to bitterneſs.

XLVI. With the limitation I have mentioned, I eſteem the ſentence a very true one. Temporal conveniences are all relative, and there is as much variance in the genius of men with reſpect to the application of them, as there is in their inclinations with reſpect to the food they fancy. What one eſteems good, another thinks bad. God only is good, and ſavory to all men. This man diſdains the lot, which that adores; and one graſps the thing, which another deſpiſes. Cæſar, when he was going to Spain, in his paſſage over the Alps, came to a very poor little village, where one of his companions, in a converſation which turned on the miſery of the inhabitants, aſked another ſneeringly, if he thought theſe Barbarians alſo, had their queſtions and diſputes, about who ſhould command and govern. To which Cæſar replied quickly, ſaying, "I aſſure you, I had much rather be the firſt man in this village, than the ſecond at Rome." The learned Fleming Nicholas Clenard, went over to Africa, with an intention of learning Arabic, and remained two years in

the kingdom of Fez, from whence he wrote often to his friends; and in his letters assured them, that he never was in a place, the customs of which suited so well with his genius, for this reason only, because in that kingdom, they had not such a multitude of laws, nor were their litigations so prolix, as in Europe; all disputes being instantly determined by the magistrate in a summary way. This method suited well with the disposition of Clenard, who abhorred extremely, the endless windings and turnings of processes in our tribunals. George Paschio, relates of him in his Book, *de Novis Inventis*, though what he says is not true, that on this account only, he left his own country and went to live in Fez. To this it may be replied, that it appears from the testimony of many authors, his return to Spain was voluntary; from whence, after teaching languages some time in the University of Salamanca, he went to the Court of Lisbon, where he was engaged as a tutor to the Prince of Portugal, brother of King John the Third.

XLVII. This great variety in the genius and dispositions of men, and not the platonic love of their country, is the true cause why many find themselves satisfied in miserable and unpleasant regions, and refuse to leave them for others more happily situated. Ovid having observed, that some Scythians, who were brought to Rome, never

miſſed an opportunity of flying back to their own ſteril bleak country, which was the place of their nativity, attributes their doing ſo to an occult affection for home, (that he himſelf, with all his explanatory powers, could not hit upon the explanation of,) which, like a ſympathetic faculty, or magnetic virtue, attracts every man to his own country. and at laſt leaves it undefined, with a ſort of declaration, that he does not know what it is:

Neſcio qua natale ſolum dulcedine cunctos
Tangit, & immemores non ſinit eſſe ſui.
Quid melius Roma? Scythico quid frigore pejus?
Huc tamen ex illa barbarus urbe fugit.

XLVIII. It is owing to none of all this, nor was it the effect of a myſterious magic, which charms and enchants men to be fond of their own country, which induced the Scythians to leave the ſoft habitations of Rome, for the frozen regions of Scythia; for we every day ſee men, who to improve their fortunes leave their native homes, ſometimes never to return again; but it does not follow from thence, that they ceaſe to love their country. The place where I write this abounds in ſuch examples. The true reaſon of this political phænomenon is, that the mode of the Scythians living in their own country, was proportioned and ſuited to their natural genius and diſpoſition.

poſition. The ſame thing happens with reſpect to the Laplanders, a Northern nation, ſituated between Norway, Sweden, and Ruſſia, on the coaſts of the Frozen Sea. Theſe Barbarians live in a continual ſtate of war, with an immenſe number of bears and wolves, and in a country full of lakes, and almoſt always covered with ſnow. Many of them at various times have been brought to Germany; but notwithſtanding they were well accommodated, and had a good maintenance aſſigned them, there never was one, who, when an opportunity offered, did not fly back to his own country.

XLIX. True temporal felicity, conſiſts, in attaining that ſtate or mode of life, which the genius or inclination of a man prompts him to wiſh or deſire. Conveniences with reſpect to the ſoul, may be compared to clothes with reſpect to the body, it not being poſſible to bring thoſe, which in appearance are beſt made, to ſuit well with, or to fit every ſhape.

L. There are however ſome of ſuch flexible tempers, that they can accommodate themſelves to every kind of fortune, and be content to live within the limits of its extenſion; ſome diſpoſitions of ſoft wax, who at will, can conform themſelves in ſuch a manner, that every thing ſits eaſy on them. Nothing inquiets them, becauſe the ſoft-

neſs of their texture gives way to every impulſe. They enlarge and contract themſelves, in proportion to the limits of the walk which is allowed them. They riſe without fatigue, and they deſcend without violence. In their own docility, they find the honey, which edulcorates every ſort of acid. They are of ſo happy a temperament, that provided they don't want what is abſolutely neceſſary, they are contented in every ſtation. The wheel of their mind is concentrical with the wheel of their fortune, and let this laſt turn as it will, they with great facility turn themſelves to correſpond with it. They bear their fortune within themſelves, let them move whichever way they will. It cannot be denied, that there are but few people of this ſweet diſpoſition; but it ſhould be alſo confeſſed, that ſuch are the truly happy, and that only the ſaints themſelves can be more ſo, becauſe they are either without the circle of the wheel, or placed in the center of it, ſo that its turnings can neither raiſe them to pride, nor precipitate them to contempt.

SECT. XII.

LI. We have ſaid which are the abſolutely happy: but who are the abſolutely unhappy? Thoſe, whoſe deſtiny have drawn them into a train

train of life, which is contrary to their genius or diſpoſition. The violence done their inclination is conſtant, and therefore, their diſguſt is conſtant alſo. That which would be ſweet to others, is bitter to them. Fortune could certainly, without adding freſh goods, make people more happy; it might be done at no more coſt, than permitting them to change ſtations and employments, as from envying each other, when they have nothing to be envious of, ſprings the miſchief. The bird from his cage, ſees with envy, the ſtone mount and fly with freedom through the air, but the aſcent is a greater violence to the ſtone, than the confinement to the bird. The poor man looks with envy on him he ſees idolized on a throne. The Prince burns with impatience, becauſe he cannot taſte the liberty enjoyed by the poor perſon.

LII. Some are made unhappy by fortune, and there are others who are ſo by nature. Thoſe I ſay, who in their own proper genius and tempers, find their greateſt enemy; diſcontented men, who are pleaſed with nothing, but are always loathing what they are in preſent poſſeſſion of; who although they ſhould frequently change their fortunes, would find no other effect from it, than they would from changing their ſhirts, which after ten or twelve days wear would be ready to poiſon them. Theſe people live in a continual oppoſition

to

to the movements of Fortune, notwithſtanding which, they are dragged on, and obliged to obey the impulſe of the wheel, being compelled by force and violence; or like the ſtars, which are conſtrained to follow the movements of the ſphere to which they are attached, although they are always endeavouring at a motion, oppoſite to that of the orb which agitates them. Theſe are ſickly ſouls, whoſe ſtomachs turn at all ſorts of food, and there are not a few of ſuch men in the world.

THE

THE MOST REFINED POLICY.

SECT. I.

1. THE center of all the political doctrine of Machiavel, is placed in that curſed maxim of his, that in the application of temporal means, the ſemblance or appearance of virtue is uſeful; real virtue, or virtue itſelf, is an obſtacle. From this point iſſues forth, in right lines, the poiſon, to the whole circumference of that pernicious ſyſtem. All the world abominates the name of Machiavel, and almoſt all the world are his followers. Although, to ſpeak the truth, the practice of the world is not taken from the doctrine of Machiavel; but the doctrine of Machiavel, is rather taken from the practice of the world. This depraved genius taught, in his writings, that which he had ſtudied in men. The world was the ſame before Machiavel, which it is at preſent, and they deceive

deceive themſelves greatly, who think, that the ages continued to grow worſe, as they continued to ſucceed one another. The golden age never exiſted but in the imaginations of the poets; the happineſs they feign to have prevailed in it, was enjoyed by only one man, and one woman, Adam and Eve; and continued ſo ſhort a ſpace of time, that ſo far from laſting an age, according to many fathers, it did not endure an entire day.

II. You need only examine hiſtory, both ſacred and profane, to be informed, that the policy of the antients was not better than that of the moderns; and I for my part, am inclined to think it was worſe; for they ſcarce knew any other road to the temple of Fortune, than that which was either laid open by violence, or fabricated by deceit. Good faith and friendſhip, laſted as long as people found it their intereſt to preſerve them. Religion and juſtice, ſerved as footſtools to the idol of convenience. Ovid and Aulus Gellius relate, that when Tarquin reſolved to build the great temple of the capitol to the honour of Jupiter, he demoliſhed, in order to make room for it, the temples of many inferior Gods, who were all obliged to give way to Jupiter; but the God Terminus, or the patron of intereſt and convenience, refuſed to cede or make way for Jupiter himſelf, ſo he maintained his ground, and his ſtatue kept its place

place in the capitol, jointly with that of Jupiter:

Terminus, ut veteres memorant, conventus in urbe
Reſtitit, & magno cum Jove templa tenet.

III. This fiction diſcovers to us the following truth, that the object of men's purſuits is their own convenience, which they are ever ſtrenuous and anxious to promote; and this is the deity, who never cared to cede or give place to Jupiter himſelf, for from the moſt antient times, *ut veteres memorant*, intereſt has ever diſputed the precedence with religion.

IV. Polybius lived a great while ago, and in his time they had not only one, but many Machiavels, who taught, that the management of public affairs was impracticable, without the aid of deceit and treachery: *Non deſunt, qui in tam crebro uſu doli mali neceſſarium eum eſſe dicant ad publicarum rerum adminiſtrationem* (Lib. 13. Hiſtor.) Although you may ſee in Lucan, the fundamental doctrine of Machiavel more ſtrongly expreſſed than it is in the above ſentence, by the abandoned Phocion, in the ſpeech he made to Ptolemy King of Egypt, to prevail with him, in violation of gratitude, and in breach of his plighted word, to take away the life of the great Pompey;

Sidera

Sidera terra
Ut distant, & flamma mari sic utile recto.

V. This is precisely saying, that virtue is always in a state of warfare with private utility, and that to negotiate convenience, it is necessary to abandon justice. A little after he adds, that he who resolves to be merciful and just, should banish himself from courts, for there, vice only is patronized:

Exeat aula
Qui vult esse pius.

VI. This is the creed, not of a few people only, but of the world at large, and it has been so in all times. What Machiavel, Hobbes, and other infamous politicians have inserted in their works, is the same which you hear every day in juntos of people; to wit, that virtue is neglected, that vice is caressed and exalted; that truth and justice are banished from courts; and that flattery and lying are the wings, with which people ascend to high stations. But this I suppose to be an error, and that it ought to be classed in the catalogue of common errors, and in my reasoning on this subject, I shall undertake to demonstrate that it is one, by informing mankind, that contrary to the opinion of the world, the most refined, and the most safe policy, is that which is founded in justice and truth.

SECT.

SECT. II.

VII. I ſhall begin with confeſſing, that thoſe who aſpire at being uſurpers, can never attain their ends, but by wicked means, becauſe to the goal of inſolence, there is no road through the land of virtue. But who will ſay theſe are ſubtil politicians? They are the moſt blind and miſtaken of all, becauſe they purſue a road, that is all over drenched with blood. Very few have travelled through it, who before they arrived at the point in view, have not loſt their lives in a violent and an ignominious manner. You hardly ſee any thing in this whole rout, but men hanging on gibbets, carcaſſes extended on ſcaffolds, limbs torn off by wild beaſts, and the aſhes of victims, who have been ſacrificed to the vengeance of the party offended. You may find here or there one, who, by purſuiug this road, has at the end of his career attained ſovereignty. But is the accidental ſucceſs of one or two lucky people, a counterbalance to ſo horrid and bloody a ſpectacle? Who will be encouraged to truſt himſelf in a ſea, ſtrewed with rocks, and covered with wrecks and dead bodies, becauſe in the courſe of many ages, three or four veſſels which have navigated it, have arrived ſafe at their deſired port? We ſhould add, to the hazard of ſhipwreck, the toils and terrors of

the

the navigation; for it is certain, that thoſe who navigate a ſea of danger and horror, before their cataſtrophe, endure a tempeſt within their ſouls. Thoſe who from private people aſpire at being ſovereigns, lead a life of perpetual alarms and anxiety, in order afterwards to die with ignominy: ſo that their toil and their danger remain cemented to their fortune, even after they have accompliſhed or ſucceeded in their undertaking; for all tyrants live in terror, and rarely or never die in their beds. But how can ſuch as theſe be conſidered even as middling politicians? Policy, in the ſenſe we here uſe the word, means the art of negotiating one's own convenience. But what convenience can a man find, by travelling through a laborious life to a violent death? I ſay, that ſo far from contemplating ſuch people as able politicians, we ought to eſteem them conſummate fools.

VIII. There are however, ſome among them, who by calling them fools, you do not ſay enough of; as they give cauſe to have themſelves pronounced raving mad men; ſuch, as when they ſee they are advancing to a lofty precipice, will attempt to ſcale the height; people, emulous of vain exaltations, who that they may ſhine on high, conſent to be reduced to aſhes, and who prefer the ſhorteſt life elevated in air, to a long duration on the

the humble earth. Theſe take to themſelves the motto of Saavedra, *dum luceam peream*; provided they ſhine, they are indifferent about being conſumed. Such was the ambitious Agrippina, who, when the Chaldeans told her her ſon would obtain the empire, but that he would take away her life, anſwered ſpiritedly, *Occidat dum imperet*. Provided he reigns, I don't mind his murdering me. Such again was Anna Bolen, who, finding herſelf condemned to death for an adultreſs, ſaid proudly, They may do what they will with me, but they can't deprive me of having been Queen of England; from whence may be inferred, that ſhe eſteemed it a preferable lot, to have been a Queen, and die with indignity in the flower of her age, than to enjoy a long life of honour as a private perſon. We ſhould look with an eye of pity on geniuſes of this character, not only with reſpect to their misfortunes, but to their deluſion alſo; and we ſhould degrade thoſe from politicians to mad men, who knowing their danger, run headlong into it.

IX. I will go ſo far as to acknowledge, that ſome iniquitous politicians, have experienced the gale of fortune favourable for them, even to the day of their deaths. Philip, King of Macedon, and father of Alexander, was fortunate in almoſt all his undertakings; for which he was as much indebted to his craft and deceptions, as to his

arms; and in his conqueſts, was equally favoured by Mercury and Mars; and if his injuſtice to Pauſanias, in not caring to puniſh the abominable act of turpitude, which Atalus, one of Philip's captains, had violently perpetrated on him, had not irritated that generous youth to ſuch a degree, that he murdered the unjuſt Prince with his fiſts, it might have been ſaid, that none of his wicked deeds had ever been prejudicial to his fortune. Cornelius Scylla manifeſted, that he profeſſed no regard to any religion, by the havock he made among the Grecian temples, which he accompanied with ſuch piccant terms of contempt and deriſion of their deities, as they were well deſerving of; and though he was extremely able in the conduct of war, he was not leſs ſo in political ſubtilties; which made his enemy Carbon ſay of him, that in the perſon of one man, he found himſelf engaged with a lion and a fox, but that he feared the fox more than the lion. His cruelty exceeded the bounds of barbarity, notwithſtanding which, he was wonderfully ſucceſsful. He firſt triumphed over the enemies of the republic, and afterwards over his perſonal ones. Nor did his putting thouſands of people to death violently, who while he was dictator were all executed by his order, excite a ſufficient degree of public or private hatred, to occaſion his being treated in the ſame way; but his natural death was worſe than any violent one; for he died eat up by lice, in conſequence

ſequence of all his fleſh by degrees, being converted to thoſe vermin.

X. England furniſhes us in later times with two way-ward, but ſucceſsful politicians. The firſt was Robert Dudley, Earl of Leiceſter *, the favourite of Queen Elizabeth, and ſo great a favourite, as to cauſe his entertaining hopes, that ſhe would give him her hand in marriage, which was the occaſion of one of the moſt wicked acts of his life, for he murdered his wife to remove the obſtacle to his attaining ſo high an honour. Fortune always cheriſhed and continued faithful to him, making him to the day of his death, maſter of the affections of that Queen, whom he held in chains, by the ſprightlineſs of his wit, and his fertile and domeſtic talents of pleaſing, as well as by his genteel and graceful perſon; and he had the preſumption, when he found he could not obtain her for his wife, to ſolicit from her the laſt perſonal favours. The ſecond was Oliver Cromwell, who, under the title of Protector, was

* Feyjoo, in the ſupplement to his Theatrico-Critico, ſays, the relation of the Earl of Leiceſter's being guilty of the horrid crime of murdering his wife in order to remove all impediments to his marrying Queen Elizabeth, which he had entertained hopes of doing, was taken from Nicholas Sanders, and another perſon whoſe name he has forgot; he ſays further, he has ſince found reaſon to doubt the truth of that accuſation, and condemns the miſtaken zeal of Sanders, who he owns was much addicted to give credit to any thing he heard againſt the enemies of the Catholic Religion. He declares that Proteſtants have the ſame right to natural juſtice as Catholics, and that they ſhould not be poſitively and unjuſtly charged with crimes, upon falſe rumours, or dubious reports.

tyrant of England, and principal actor in the death of Charles the First. An attempt so horrible, from the circumstance of his own subjects having erected themselves into his Judges, and having instituted process, and pronounced sentence with all the formalities which are ordinarily used with respect to common criminals, is such an example, that the world till then, had never seen the like. The insult was made greater, by their affecting to elude insulting him, under the pretence, that they proceeded according to law. The English nation so far debased themselves by that act, that the person who was then hangman of London, and who could not be prevailed on, either by threats or promises to execute the sentence, appeared to be the most noble spirited man in the kingdom. Cromwell, the author of such an enormous piece of wickedness, and of many other inferior ones, reigned afterwards, not only absolute master of Great Britain for the residue of his life, but, by dint of his incomparable sagacity, came to be the arbiter of all Europe.

XI. There are these examples, but you will find very few others, of perverse politicians, who have been always successful. But what shall we infer from such examples? Shall we esteem those fine politicians who have pursued the same rout? no, we should rather call them absurd and insensible ones. It shews great want of judgment, to found hopes and expectations upon one or two singular

events, in preference to what commonly happens in the ordinary courſe of things. Becauſe ſome one has found a vein of gold by digging the ground, would it not be madneſs in me to occupy myſelf, and ſpend all my time in opening wells through the bowels of the earth? for if two or three have found the philoſopher's ſtone, (though I much doubt if any one ever did) the number of thoſe are infinite, who by ſearching after it, have waſted their ſubſtance, and loſt their lives. In theſe very rare chances, on which imprudent ambitious people found their expectations, there likewiſe intervene other very rare accidents, and that theſe ſhould all concur to favour him, is more than any prudent man can expect. Thoſe few ſucceſsful people were alſo aſſiſted with very uncommon natural talents, by dint of which, if they had directed their ſteps through the paths of virtue, they would have gone on ſmoothly, and would have arrived at happineſs with much greater eaſe and ſatisfaction to themſelves, than they did in the vicious courſe they purſued; and this correſponds with the obſervation Titus Livius makes on the elder Cato; *In illo viro tantum robur corporis, & animi fuit, ut quocumque loco natus eſſet, fortunam ſibi facturus videretur.*

SECT. IV.

XII. But abſtracted from the innumerable craigs and ſtumbling blocks in the way of ambition,

when it advances to its object by the road of infamy; if its views are very high, the best and most safe policy is, to pursue the pretension by the way of justice and truth. Lord Chancellor Bacon, who was as great a politician as he was a philosopher, divided policy into the high and the low. The exalted or sound policy, consists in the knowledge of disposing means for the attainment of ends, without deviating, either from truth, equity, or honour. The low or mean policy, consists in the art of attaining ends, by the means of fictions, flattery and sophistries; the first is proper and natural to men, in whom a generous and an upright heart, is joined to a clear understanding and a solid judgment. In fact, says the author we have cited, almost all eminent politicians have been of this character: *sane ubique reperias homines rerum tractandarum peritissimos, omnes ferè candorem, ingenuitatem, & veracitatem in negotiis præsetulisse.* The second sort is composed of men, of bastard dispositions or understandings: or of such whose understandings are so faintly enlightened, that they can discern no other road which will lead them to their desired end, but that of deceit; or their dispositions are so depraved, that they embrace dishonesty without reluctance, if they conceive it will be useful to them; or I am rather inclined to think, that both their dispositions and understandings are vitiated.

XIII. The repreſentation of both theſe ſorts of politicians, may be ſeen as in two mirrors, by viewing the characters of the two Emperors, Auguſtus and Tiberius, who were immediate ſucceſſors to each other. Auguſtus was open, candid, generous, ſteady in his friendſhips, faithful to his promiſes, and free from all deceit. In the whole courſe of his life, which was a very long one, there does not appear the leaſt treachery; why do I ſay treachery? not even the ſlighteſt fallacy. Tiberius, on the contrary, was deceitful, falſe, gloomy, and diſſembling. His looks and his breaſt, were never in concord, and his words were always oppoſite to his deſigns; which of the two was the beſt politician? Tacitus decides the queſtion, when he extols the perſpicuity of Auguſtus, and remarks on the caution of Tiberius; in the laſt he recognizes high diſſimulation, and in the firſt ſupreme ability, which induced Mucianus, by way of animating Veſpaſian againſt Vitellius to ſay: *Non adverſus Auguſti acerrimam mentem, neque adverſus Tiberii cautiſſimam ſenectutem inſurgimus.*

XIV. I ſhould always eſteem him the beſt politician, who, contented with the little or much which Heaven has beſtowed on him, avoids interfering with, or engaging in the traffic and buſtle of the world; in the ſame ſenſe, we under-

ſtand the ſaying, that the beſt thing which can be done with dice, is to forbear playing with them; but we muſt except the caſe of filling a public office, the buſineſs of which muſt be attended to. The following admirable diſtich, of I don't know what antient, ſeems addreſſed to all private people:

Mitte ſuperba pati faſtidia, ſpemque caducam
Deſpice, vive tibi cum moriare tibi.

XV. But I would not have it underſtood from what I have been ſaying, that I approve of thoſe they commonly call good men, who are in all reſpects uſeleſs members of ſociety, to whom may be applied the Italian proverb, *Tanto buon che val niente.* They are ſo good, that they are good for, or worth nothing. Much leſs do I approve of thoſe narrow-minded geniuſes, who care for nobody but themſelves. It is meanneſs of ſpirit, ſays the excellent Bacon, for a man to direct all his attention to his own convenience, and to make that the centre of all his happineſs: *Centrum plane ignobile eſt actionum hominis cujuſquam commodum proprium.* Man is a ſociable animal, not only by the force of ſocial laws; but the obligation of aſſiſting other men when it is in our power, is a debt we owe to our own nature, and more eſpecially to our friend, and our neighbour, but moſt of all, to our King and our country. Pliny ſays, that thoſe who are diſpoſed to acts of beneficence, and to adminiſter eaſe and

comfort

comfort to other men, have ſomething divine in them: *Deus eſt mortali juvare mortalem.* Thoſe whoſe whole care or attention is confined to themſelves only, ſcarce deſerve the name of human beings.

SECT. V.

XVI. What reaſon dictates is, that we ſhould neither officiouſly engage in, nor obſtinately refuſe entering into buſineſs, provided we find in ourſelves talents, that are apt and proper for it. If a perſon can make his fortune in this line, although he does not ſolicit employments, he ſhould not refuſe accepting them; becauſe the public is much intereſted, in having places of truſt filled with able and good-intentioned men. But upon a ſuppoſition, that the doctrine we have laid down on this head, is not ſuited to men of ſuch moderation, but rather applicable to thoſe who are ſomewhat affected with the malady of ambition, and who are not fond of reading documents of morality, but had rather ſtudy political ones; I ſay upon this ſuppoſition, let us proceed in following the parallel of the two courſes, by which a man may either make his fortune, or improve that which he is already poſſeſſed of.

XVII. All that a perſon can reaſonably deſire, may be attained without deviating from the path of honour. A man of a clear head, accompanied with

with perſpicuity aud prudence, will always find a way to arrive at the goal of his pretenſions, without inclining the line of rectitude and honeſty, towards the curve of deceit. Fidelity in friendſhip, and ſincerity in behaviour, are ſo far from being prejudicial, that they afford great aſſiſtance; becauſe with theſe endowments, he will gain the confidence and good-will of ſuch as can lend their hand to raiſe him, and of thoſe, who may be uſeful as inſtruments in helping him forward. By being diſintereſted and a lover of juſtice, he will acquire the eſteem and affection of many, and the veneration of all men. To be open-hearted, and to communicate with confidence in all matters, except ſuch as prudence dictates to you to conceal, or elſe, ſuch as are confided to you under the ſeal of ſecrecy, by thoſe with whom you have friendly intercourſe, have a moſt powerful attraction. And although this behaviour may ſometimes occaſion diſguſt, to here and there a perſon of a different caſt of mind; that diſadvantage would be doubly compenſated for, by the good opinion, that perſon would entertain of ſuch a one when he is perſuaded, that he is a man of ſincerity; for the diſguſt would paſs away, and the good opinion would remain. In fact, theſe tranſparent ſouls, when diſcretion is combin'd with the purity of their diſpoſitions, are thoſe, who aſcend to the greateſt height with the leaſt fatigue. The theatre of nature in this particular,

cular, is an emblem of the theatre of fortune. The diaphonous and brilliant bodies, are thoſe which occupy the moſt elevated ſtations in the fabric of the globe; the gloomy, opake, and obſcure ones, the loweſt.

XVIII. He who finds himſelf aided with an apt or ready prudence, an upright intention, and a firm loyalty, together with the qualities we have before enumerated, has no need to be always conſidering and contriving means to better his affairs. Apelles, who in every other inſtance celebrated the famous painter Protogenes, pointed out a defect in him, which was, that he never knew when to have done finiſhing a picture; this ſhews, ſays Pliny, that too much diligence many times is prejudicial: *Documentum memorabile nocere ſæpe nimiam diligentiam.* When our politician finds himſelf on the theatre where his talents become conſpicuous, expedients occur to him without much thought or ſtudy. An officious left-handed competitor may happen to diſpute the palm with him, but it will be at the expence of a great deal of additional toil and labour. The cunning ſnake may arrive at the ſame eminence, to which the generous eagle aſpires to mount, but with how much fatigue? The character and properties of a low politician, cannot be better diſplayed, than under the figure of a ſnake, the ſide way and oblique motion with which he goes

on, points out the deceit he proceeds with; his breaſt fix'd to the earth, ſhews his adherence to ſelf-intereſt; the various inflexions and foldings of his body, are deſcriptive of his crooked ſoul; and his conceal'd venom, denotes the evil intention he hides. O ſerpent! what pains does it coſt you to better your ſituation, only becauſe thou art a ſnake; while at the ſame time, the eagle with a careleſs and an eaſy flight, aſcends to the top of Olympus.

SECT. VI.

XIX. This is not the greateſt inequality diſcernible; the moſt ſtriking conſiſts, in the different ſecurity conſequent to the one and the other mode of conduct. The left-handed politician, both while he is ſeeking his fortune, and even after he has obtained it, is expoſed to great danger. It is impoſſible, or next to impoſſible, that the artifices and mal-practices of a man beſet and watched by many rivals, ſhould not be diſcovered; and when theſe are once laid open, as this was the cement of the whole fabric, its being reduced to ruins will not be delayed an inſtant. It is very difficult ſays father Famianus Eſtrada, for him to avoid a ſudden fall, who ſtands on ſlippery ground, and is preſs'd upon by many people: *Difficile eſt in lubrico ſtare diu, quem plures impellunt.*

This

This is the ſtate of a deceitful politician; he walks through a very ſlippery path, and is always upon falſe ground. The people who labour to pull him down conſiſt, of all thoſe who either envy his fortune, or abhor his evil deeds; which is as much as to ſay, he has for enemies, both the good and the bad. How can a man ſo circumſtanced, ſupport himſelf for any length of time? he muſt be overthrown, and, as it frequently happens, may in his fall be daſhed to pieces: an energetic deſcription of this is ſung by Claudian:

———Jam non ad culmina rerum
Injuſtos creviſſe queror: tolluntur in altum
Ut lapſu graviore ruant.

XX. The upright politician, on the contrary, meets no dangers on his road, and has nothing to fear at his journey's end. He is the more ſafe, the more the grounds of his conduct are diſplayed. He has fewer enemies than the other, becauſe they can conſiſt of none but bad people. In caſe he is overthrown, his fall will not be precipitate and violent, but ſoft and eaſy. His innocence will at leaſt preſerve his life; and the worſt that can befal him, is being reduced to his former ſtate; but it moſt commonly happens, that evil-intentioned people do not ſucceed in their attacks upon him, and that the ſhafts of their malice recoil

coil and wound themſelves, which oftentimes, affords honour and triumph to the party accuſed. The hiſtory of a politician of integrity, although an infidel by his religion, occurs to me at preſent, which is very applicable to the ſubject we are treating of. The relation is taken from Tavernier's Voyages, and it being new and pleaſant, I ſhall give a brief recital of it.

XXI. Mahomed Alibeg, high ſteward to the King of Perſia, was, from being a poor ſhepherd, raiſed to that elevated poſt, in the beginning of the laſt century. The King, one day when he was hunting, met with him in the mountains, where he was playing on his flute, and attending his flocks. For his amuſement, he aſked him ſome queſtions, and, taken with the vivacity and acuteneſs of the lad's anſwers, he carried him with him to his palace; where having him inſtructed, the rectitude of his heart, and the clearneſs of his underſtanding, ſoon gained the affection and confidence of the King, who advanc'd him rapidly from charge to charge, till he at laſt placed him in the office of high ſteward. His inflexible integrity, and his averſion to bribes, a thing very rare among the Mahometans, raiſed him powerful enemies; but finding him ſo thoroughly poſſeſſed of the confidence of his maſter, they could not venture to act in a hoſtile way againſt him during the King's life. After his death, when his

his ſucceſſor who was a young man mounted the throne, they ſuggeſted to him, that Mahomet had ſubtracted vaſt ſums from the Royal Treaſury. The Prince ordered him to make up his accounts in fifteen days, to which Mahomet replied with intepridity, that ſo much delay was not neceſſary, and that if his Majeſty would be pleaſed to go with him immediately to the Treaſury Office, he would there deliver them to him. The King went, followed by all the accuſers, but he found every thing in ſuch fine order, and the books of accounts ſo exactly and accurately ſtated, with which all other circumſtances correſponded, that nobody had a word to ſay. From thence the King proceeded to Mahomet's houſe, where he could not help admiring the moderation of the furniture, and the poverty of the decorations. One of the enemies of the favourite obſerving the door of a room ſhut, and ſecured with three ſtrong chains, hinted it to the King, who asked Mahomet what he had got ſhut up in that room. Sir, anſwered Mahomet, here I keep my own things, all you have hitherto ſeen belongs to your Majeſty; and having ſaid this he opened the door. The King entered the room, and after looking all round, ſaw nothing but the following particulars hanging on nails drove into the wall. A leathern doublet, a wallet, a ſhepherd's crook, and a flute. The King was viewing

ing them with aſtoniſhment, when Mahomet throwing himſelf at his feet, ſaid, Sir, this is the habit, and theſe are the goods which I was poſſeſſed of, when the King your father brought me to court. Theſe were what belonged to me then, and theſe are what I have now, and theſe only I claim as my own; and as they are ſo, I ſupplicate with the greateſt ſubmiſſion, that your Majeſty will permit me to enjoy them, by returning to the mountains from whence my fortune brought me forth. Here the King, unable to refrain from tears, embraced the generous favourite; and not content with this mark of his approbation, immediately ſtript off his royal robes, and ordered Mahomet to wear them, which in Perſia, is eſteemed the higheſt honour a King can confer on a ſubject. The reſult of all this, was, that Mahomet during his whole life after, preſerved the firm confidence and love of his Prince. What pity it is, that this diſintereſtedneſs, this nobleneſs of mind, this rectitude, this moderation, ſhould be all lodged in an infidel!

SECT. VII.

XXII. The obſtacle in the way of an honeſt politician, is the difficulty of treating with men in power upon the principles of truth and candour. Flattery is a door, that opens very wide for the introduction to favour, but as it is very low alſo,

no

no man of a generous mind can enter in at it. I have heard all the world declare they abhorred flatterers, but I never ſaw any one who did not cheriſh them. This proceeds, from every man rating his own talents at more than their true value, and becauſe the true language of a flatterer correſponds with the good opinion the perſon flattered entertains of himſelf, who does not look upon him who pays the adulation as a flatterer, but as a man of abilities, and one who forms right judgments of things: but allowing him to be ſo prudent, as even to undervalue, inſtead of over-rating his own talents, he might ſtill lie open to the practices of a flatterer; as for inſtance, the flatter'd perſon, might be induced to attribute the exceſſive high opinion the flatterer profeſſed to entertain of him, to the exceſs of his love and eſteem for him, and all that is repreſented through the microſcope of love, is greatly magnified in the imagination; and in this caſe, although he does not credit the applauſe, he eſteems the affection. By theſe means, flattery becomes a univerſal net, which catches and entangles fiſh of every kind.

XXIII. This method then, if managed with art, for there are ſome flatterers, who are fulſome and ſurfeiting, is ſufficiently effectual and ſecure to practiſe with, but is at the ſame time moſt vile and pernicious, and therefore ſhould never be made uſe of, nor ſhould the truth ever be deviated from.

But truth is diſguſting! no matter, prudence will find ſeaſonings to make it palatable; and although it be true, that by uſing theſe means, an honeſt man will be longer in ingratiating himſelf into the good opinion of a great perſon, than a ſordid flatterer, ſtill, he will in the end obtain a more ſolid and laſting eſtimation with him. The firſt thing to be obſerved by him, is never to give his opinion with aſperity, nor ever to give it at all but at proper opportunites. The rigidity of undeceiving people with reſpect to their errors, ſhould be ſoftened by the gentleneſs of reſpect; and if reverence and ſweetneſs of manner, are uſed as vehicles to convey the propoſition, they will cauſe it to be well received. It would be better ſtill, to refrain intirely from doing what we have juſt mentioned, if you could with propriety be excuſed from ſpeaking your ſentiments. Theſe qualities were celebrated by King Theodoricus, in a favourite of his: *Sub genii noſtri luce intrepidus quidem ; ſed reverenter adſtabat, opportune tacitus, neceſſarie copioſus.* (*Caſiodor. lib.* 5. *Epiſt.* 3.) In caſes that admit of waiting for favourable opportunities, be watchful and attentive to make uſe of them, when the mind of the great man is happily tempered, and when he is well diſpoſed to be undeceived, and to receive information; the choice of theſe muſt be conſided to diſcretion, which beſt underſtands

ſtands theſe matters, and is the beſt guide in ſuch caſes:

Sola viri molles aditus, & tempora noras.

XXIV. In the ſecond place, you ſhould never, in oppoſition to the opinion of a great man, be ſtiff or poſitive in maintaining your own ſentiments, becauſe this is difficult to be done without giving offence. The philoſopher Favorinus anſwered wiſely to ſome, who blamed him for giving way in a diſpute he had with the Emperor Adrian, by ſaying to them, it was proper and neceſſary to give way to a man who commanded thirty legions.

XXV. Thirdly, you may ſweeten the bitter of truth, with a ſpecies of engaging and modeſt condeſcenſion; which conſiſts more in actions, than in words, I mean that it is contained in being obſequious, and expreſſing by your geſtures, a diſpoſition and deſire to pleaſe; and theſe will have a notable effect in promoting attention to your advice, becauſe they will create an opinion, that the inſtruction is the offspring of generous ſincerity, and not of poſitive pride. I would not however have it underſtood, that the ſubmiſſion ſhould be abject, or ſavour of meanneſs of ſpirit; but I had almoſt ſaid, that with reſpect to ſuperiors, ſubmiſſion is generally defended from the

hazard of ſuch an imputation. Dionyſius, tyrant of Syracuſe, having refuſed to grant a requeſt which was made to him by Ariſtippus of Cyrene, he proſtrated himſelf at his feet, and obtained what he aſked. Some people reprehended the action, as beneath the dignity of a philoſopher; to which Ariſtippus anſwered, "He that would be heard by Dionyſius, muſt apply his mouth to his feet, for there his ears are placed." The ſaying was pleaſant, and I won't determine whether or not the ſubmiſſion was exceſſive.

XXVI. I repeat my aſſurance, that by uſing theſe precautions, the open honeſt politician, will obtain a much higher degree of eſtimation in the mind of a great man, than the ſly contemplative one. When he arrives at convincing the perſon who was before perſuaded he was able, that he is candid alſo, he ſtands on ſure ground. In conſequence of his integrity, he may at times experience a few ſlights, but he will ſtill continue to poſſeſs the confidence he has gained; as it happened to the Duke of Alva, with Philip the Second, when he ſent the Duke to conquer Portugal. The king, before he ſet out, ſhewed him the ſlight of refuſing to let him wait on him to take his leave, and at the ſame time confided to his management, an enterprize of ſuch importance. On the contrary, the flatterer, although he in his ordinary converſation and deportment,

ment, is always pleaſant and entertaining, ſtill you will perceive, if his ſuperior is a wary man, that ſuch ſort of talents do not introduce him deep into his eſteem. Many people make uſe of flatterers, as men who are feveriſh uſe water; which although it may ſeem obnoxious to them, they gargle their throats with, but do not ſwallow it. Generally ſpeaking, and to me the concluſion is infallible, that with an equal ſhare of talents, the good, candid, faithful, grateful man, who is a lover of juſtice and equity, will make a greater fortune, and with more certainty, than he who is void of thoſe qualities, or poſſeſſed of oppoſite ones.

SECT. VIII.

XXIX. But here I find myſelf preſſed with an objection, which is pretended to be derived from common experience, to wit, that nothing is ſeen in the world but perverſe people exalted, and virtuous ones caſt down; that flattery and deceit ride triumphant; and that truth and candour lie groaning and oppreſſed. I anſwer firſt, that all this ſeems more like the voice of envy, than juſt obſervation founded on experience. I confeſs, that you hear theſe complaints at every turn; but who articulates them? not thoſe who occupy places, for they would hardly ſpeak againſt themſelves; neither do virtuous neglected people utter them; for

they are not apt to go about complaining, and troubling the world with their disappointments, neither do they snarl at, or envy the honours conferred on men in power, nor do they compliment themselves with being the only people who possess any degree of merit. Who are those then, that find themselves so neglected? none but the bad and incapable; such who from want of ability, and by their bad behaviour, have made themselves unworthy of all attention; these are the men, who accuse Fortune of partiality; and the angry and discontented people being very numerous, they make such a noise with their complaints, that the cries vociferated from their vitiated breasts, seem like the clamours of all the world. You may add to this, that as no man who arrives at obtaining power, can serve every one he sees in an inferior station, but only a few of them, all such then as do not partake of his beneficence, think he has made an unjust distribution of his favours; like the Cafres, they only worship God when he sends them fair weather, and are very angry with him when they have foul. The very people obliged, are apt to complain, because the favours bestowed on them, fall short of what they expected, or what they thought themselves entitled to. I can assert from my own experience, that having had intercourse with some of those persons who had been the artisans of their own fortune, I found them beyond comparison

pariſon better men, than common fame had repreſented them to be.

XXVIII. Secondly, even though it ſhould appear true, that the fortunate virtuous men are but few in number, I anſwer, nothing can be inferred from thence to contradict what we have aſſerted. If thoſe are few who have made their fortunes by purſuing the paths of virtue, it is, becauſe few have attempted it in that way. How can many arrive at a goal, which but few have ſet out on their rout to? It is certain, that men of ſanctity of manners, or thoſe who are truly virtuous, are never ſolicitous about aſcending to high ſtations. They are like the ſtars, none of which attempt riſing to a ſphere ſuperior to that in which God has placed them. Thoſe who are not bleſſed with ſuch ſolid virtue, but are endowed with the talents we have mentioned before, are the men we are about to treat of; and I ſay, that in all countries, ſuch men are but few in number, though I will venture to aſſure thoſe few, if they will apply themſelves, that they will ſucceed and do their buſineſs. Shew me a ſingle man of diſtinguiſhed natural parts, and of a clear underſtanding, who is well intentioned, and has a firm and conſtant heart; who is courteous, faithful, and juſt; that has not better'd his fortune, if he has diligently endeavoured at it. Many of theſe, I mean, many in proportion to the num-

ber of them, are ſought by fortune, even when they themſelves ſeem to ſlight her; and although I may be poſſibly ſhewn ſome ſuch, who have been reduced; ſtill, for every one of this ſort that can be inſtanced, I will venture to point out a hundred crooked left-handed politicians, who have been brought to poverty and miſery, by their frauds, little tricks, and mean cunning.

XXIX. But I have not mentioned all, for I am firmly perſuaded, that you will rarely meet with a man, to whom virtue has not been of uſe, even in point of temporal convenience; becauſe, if the ſyſtem of government, and the men in power are favourable to him, he is raiſed; if indifferent, he is reſpected; if adverſe, he is at leaſt not hated; even when the ſtate is inflam'd by factions, the oppoſite party, if in power, although they do not confide employments to him, conſider him as an exception to their reſentment. There never was ſeen in the world a furor, equal to that of the Sicilians, when in their famous veſpers, they cut the throats of the French; nor was there ever any nation ſo irritated againſt another; for their barbarity, carried them to rip open the bellies of all the Sicilian women they ſuſpected were with child by Frenchmen. In this horrible maſſacre, they did not ſpare one of that nation who fell into their hands, except William de Porceleto, governor of the diſtrict

diſtrict of Calatafima, who was protected from the general rage, by the fame of his goodneſs. So certain is it, that the temple of virtue is the only aſylum of public ſafety.

XXX. The noiſe and clamour that men of great abilities are neglected, and lie hid in corners, is a mere fable; and if they do not voluntarily hide themſelves, totally void of truth, or if this is not the caſe, they are neglected, becauſe to their great talents, there are annexed great defects. I have gone about and ſeen the world, but to this day, have not obſerved a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, (who was not blemiſhed with glaring defects,) ſlighted and diſregarded; however, as we ought in every inſtance to ſpeak the truth, the eſteem for him, has not always been in proportion to his degree of merit. Some maintain an oppoſite ſentiment to that we have been advancing, but if you attend to them, they do not ſo much complain of other peoples ſlights and diſappointments as of their own. With their tongues, they lament that men of talents are deſpiſed; in reality, they only grieve that thoſe are deſpiſed who are void of them, which are themſelves; and under the pretence of zeal for the public good, they vent their own private ſpleen. It is the vulgar artifice of people of extreme incapacity to cenſure the partial diſtribution of favours, and it has been remarked, that if one of theſe cenſurers ever aſcended to what he aſpired at, he immediately

immediately approved of all thoſe meaſures of government, which he had before clamoured againſt; from whence it may be inferred, that all the merit he before lamented to have been trodden under foot, he conſidered as centered and collected together in his own perſon. I have ſeen ſome unworthy men exalted, but do not remember an inſtance of a great man without ſpot ever having been deſpiſed or contemned.

SECT. IX.

XXXI. It is now time for us to treat of the inconvenience of low policy. The celebrated Bacon, calls it the aſylum of thoſe, who for want of talents, are incapable of purſuing the ſublime path of heroic policy: *Quid ſi quis ad hunc judicii, & diſcretionis gradum aſcendere non valeat, ei relinquitur tanquam tutiſſimum, ut ſit rectus & diſſimulator (de Inter. rer. cap. 6.).* This maxim, coincides with that which Plutarch cites of the General Lyſander. The Lacedæmonians remonſtrated with him, that on account of his little faith and truth, he degenerated from Hercules whom they boaſted being the deſcendants of. To which he anſwered wittily, alluding to the habit Hercules uſed to wear, that for want of the ſkin of a lion, he was obliged to make uſe of the ſkin of a fox.

XXXII.

XXXII. There are different degrees of low policy, ſome of which, are worſe than others. The firſt, is that of diſſimulation and craft. The ſecond, is that of falſe appearances and lying. The third, is that of wickedneſs and inſolence. The firſt, if it does not come in contact with the line of the ſecond, is in the moral indifferent; but it is very difficult to purſue a courſe of craft and reſerve, without being under the occaſional neceſſity of telling many lies; becauſe if a man is preſſed with queſtions, ſilence, by being unfavourably interpreted with reſpect to the perſon queſtioned, is equivalent to, or makes as much againſt him, as a poſitive anſwer; and the gift of being ready in theſe ſtreights with an ingenious come off, is beſtowed on very few people.

XXXIII. An habitual diſſimulation proceeds, partly from a defect in the underſtanding, and partly from the natural talents being vitiated. Thoſe who cannot diſtinguiſh when it is proper to obſerve ſilence, nor when it is requiſite, and when hazardous, to be open and explicit; upon a ſhort reflection, either decide upon keeping ſilence totally; or elſe on all occaſions, never to venture more than a very diminutive explanation; like blind people, who even when they are walking on plain ground, for fear of ſlipping, proceed with great caution. This in ſome, is more the effect of puſillanimity than the want of reflection, although

although they always mix one with the other; but be that as it will, they lead but a weary and unpleaſant life; for wearing a padlock continualy on the lips, is the ſame thing, as living with a heart which is ever impriſoned. Such people, are ever in dread that the ſecrets of their breaſts ſhould be laid open, or elſe, that ſome words which they have made uſe of, have already diſcovered them. They are deſtitute of the comfort of unboſoming to a friend, becauſe all puſillanimous people are diſtruſtful and ſuſpicious; they ſcarce think any man ſincere in friendſhip, or ſafe to put confidence in; they alſo make themſelves unpleaſant and diſguſting companions, becauſe they make a myſtery of every thing; and the reciprocal communication of ſouls, being the ſweeteſt correſpondence among men, they are unhappy, becauſe they cannot taſte of this bliſs; and they are diſagreeable, becauſe as far as it depends on them, they deprive other people of that happineſs. We may add to this; that no prudent perſon confides in him who has confidence in no one; becauſe ſuch a man, is ever ſuſpected of judging other people by himſelf. It alſo happens, that in conſequence of his not communicating his deſigns to any one, thoſe afford him no aſſiſtance, who might either be diſpoſed, or have it in their power to ſerve him, for want of being acquainted with what he aims at. This was the caſe of Pompey, who although a daring warrior, was a timid politician.

politician. His intention was the ſame as Cæſar's, that is, to rule the republic with an abſolute ſway. Cæſar ſucceeded in his ſcheme, becauſe he attempted the thing openly. Pompey, by hiding his deſigns from his moſt affectionate friends, who were numerous; and by uſing occult artifices, and endeavouring to diſturb the republic, in order that it might fall ſpontaneouſly into his hands, miſſed his aim; becauſe his friends, being ignorant of what he intended, knew not how to apply their influence in aſſiſting him. Tacitus comparing him with Marius and Sylla, ſays, *Occultior non melior.* For all theſe reaſons, it appears very difficult, for men who are exceedingly deceitful to better their fortunes. At leaſt, they will hardly ever owe their doing it to their genius.

SECT. X.

XXXV. The dealers in falſe pretences, and the men of cunning, compoſe the vulgar of a court, and are the moſt numerous part of population in the political world; but they who act upon theſe principles, follow a very dangerous tract, although it is the moſt beaten. Their deceptions are ſo manifold, that notwithſtanding art and fortune ſhould conſpire to hide them, it is next to impoſſible that ſome will not appear. A fabric built on falſe ground, without the wind overturning it, will fall of itſelf. When a lying genius

is

is once found out, the leaſt inconvenience conſequent on the diſcovery is, his never being believed any more. Tiberius, on account of his having been ſo often detected in falſehoods, was not credited, even when he ſpoke the truth: *Vero quoque, & honeſto fidem demiſſit*, ſays Tacitus.

XXXV. Not only lies detected are unfortunate, but they are likewiſe ſometimes ſo, on account of their being thought true; for in this caſe, they produce an effect, quite oppoſite to the purpoſe they were intended to anſwer. Nero wanted to murder his mother Agrippina in ſuch a manner, that her death ſhould appear accidental, and not deſign'd. For this purpoſe, he cauſed a ſhip in which Agrippina was to embark, to be conſtructed ſo artfully, that the part where his mother was to be lodged, could be eaſily ſeparated from the other, and let the unfortunate Princeſs drop into the Sea. The purpoſe was not anſwered, becauſe the part did not ſeparate as was intended, but only open'd, ſo as to cauſe great dread of ſhipwreck in thoſe of the party. Aceronia, a lady who attended Agrippina, when the alarm happened, ran out and called aloud for aſſiſtance, ſaying, ſhe was Agrippina, the mother of the Emperor. The darkneſs of the night favoured the deceit, and thoſe who knew Nero's intention, believing ſhe was Agrippina, came quickly to her; not with a deſign to aſſiſt, but to demoliſh the unfortunate Aceronia,

Aceronia, which they did, upon a ſuppoſition that they were doing an agreeable piece of ſervice to Nero.

XXXVI. Lying, is proper and natural to baſe and ambitious people, who by mixing flattery with their lies, become vile and contemptible to the laſt degree; and their doing this, makes them the ſlaves of all mankind. They ſubmit to every one, and humble themſelves to every one, and treat all the world as their maſters; ſome becauſe they ſhould do them ſervice, and others becauſe they ſhould not injure them; like the ſavages of Virginia, who not only worſhip the ſtars becauſe they give them light, and promote fertility, but they worſhip all they fear likewiſe; not only the devil whom they moſt dread, but alſo fire, clouds, horſes, and great guns are venerated as deities by them. They have work enough upon their hands who ſerve ſo many maſters, for over and above the labour which liars find in obeying ſuch a number of directors, they are alarm'd and fatigu'd with the riſques they run, for their practices of deceiving being once diſcover'd, all mankind abhor them.

SECT. XI.

XXXVII. We come now to the quinteſſence of the venom of ambition, to thoſe peſts of ſociety, abandoned politicians; to thoſe concealed Atheiſts,

Atheiſts, thoſe devils in diſguiſe, who without the leaſt ſcruple to attain their baſe purpoſes, practiſe the moſt deformed vices; who to lay their hands on benefits, ſet their feet on, and trample upon the laws; who with the fine accompliſhments, of perjury, ingratitude, and treachery, are galanting fortune night and day. Theſe, of all politicians are the moſt blind, becauſe the road by which they think to arrive at happineſs and honour, leads them directly to misfortune and diſgrace. Who, by ſuch ſort of means, was ever made happy? Machiavel himſelf, the grand maſter of this infernal policy, paſſed the laſt years of his life in extreme miſery; and he would long before his diſſolution happened have died on a gibbet, if he had not denied in the torture, his participation in the conſpiracy againſt the family of the Medicis. If one or two, have happened to raiſe themſelves by the dint of wicked practices, their elevation may be compared to that of Simon Magus, who was lifted up, that his legs might be cruſhed to pieces with his fall. Sejanus, in conſequence of a ſimilarity in their habits and diſpoſitions, gained ſuch a degree of favour with Tiberius, and came to have ſuch an aſcendant over him, that he directed and control'd him with an abſolute ſway. And what did all theſe ſmiles of fortune end in? Nothing more, than that no culprit was ever put to death with greater ignominy. Petronius Arbiter, by flattering the laſcivious

laſcivious diſpoſition of Nero, arrived at being ſuperintendant of his turpitudes, or regulator of his brutalities; ſo that in all which related to criminal pleaſures, the Prince obeyed his ſubject; nor would he taſte of any thing, but what Petronius preſcribed; notwithſtanding which, the criterion arrived, when Nero condemned him to death; which Petronius anticipated, by opening his veins. It is very remarkable, that out of all the people Nero moſt hated, Seneca was the laſt who died by his order. The arm of the Prince, was reſtrained by the virtue of the philoſopher, notwithſtanding that ſame virtue made the Prince's life unpleaſant, and was an irkſome monitor to him; and after all, the philoſopher did not die without a crime, for he was privy to the conſpiracy of Piſon. If virtue enjoys theſe immunities under bad Princes, what may it not expect from good ones?

XXXVIII. It would be ſtrange delirium in him who is making war againſt heaven, to expect, the ſtars ſhould be favourable to his deſigns. A Frenchman, reminding an Engliſhman of the time, when in the reign of Henry the Sixth, the Engliſh were almoſt abſolute maſters of France, ſaid ſneeringly to him, "When do you think you ſhall return again to be Lords of our kingdom?" to which the Engliſhman made him this admirable reply, *When your iniquities ſhall be greater than ours.* Little

different from this was the ſaying of Agiſlaus; who (when Tiſaphernes finding himſelf ſuperior in force, in violation of the peace he had ſworn to obſerve, bégan hoſtilities,) ſpoke thus: *I am very happy at this event, becauſe Tiſaphernes by his perfidy, has engaged the Gods on my ſide.* The iſſue was, that Agiſlaus came off triumphant, and Tiſaphernes loſt the battle and his life.

XXXIX. But to illuſtrate how much God takes part with the enemies of him, who hopes to ſucceed in his undertakings, by violating the oaths ſworn by his holy name, there is not a more memorable inſtance in hiſtory, than may be ſeen in the caſe of Ladiſlaus the fourth, king of Hungary. This Prince, after gaining ſome victories, agreed upon a truce with Amurat the Second; but in a ſhort time afterwards, inſtigated by the indiſcreet zeal of the Pontifical legate, he began the war afreſh: Worldly policy taught him, that the opportunity was favourable, as the Turks had not recovered from the conſternation of their late defeats. Ladiſlaus had excellent troops, and for his General, John Huniades, who was eſteemed the moſt ſkillful warrior the world knew in that age. They came to a battle, which in the beginning, was much in favour of the Hungarians. Amurat, when he ſaw his troops ready to betake themſelves to flight, drew out from his boſom

the inſtrument containing the truce, which Ladiſlaus had ſworn to obſerve; and lifting his eyes to heaven, in a loud voice, addreſſed our Saviour, in words to this effect: *Jeſus Chriſt, if thou art the true God, as the Chriſtians believe you to be, chaſtiſe the affront offered to you by theſe people, in breaking a truce, which they have ſworn by thy holy name to keep ſacred*; and wonderful to relate, at this inſtant the gale of fortune veer'd about, the Mahometans defeated the Chriſtians with a bloody ſlaughter, and to compleat the whole, Ladiſlaus himſelf was among the ſlain:

Diſcite juſtitiam moniti, & non temnere Divos.

SECT. XI.

XL. One of the moſt common effects of infamous policy, is, the author's own maxims being often turned upon, and brought to militate againſt himſelf. Jeroboam, when the kingdom of Iſrael was divided, having made himſelf maſter of the ten tribes, ſpun, as it appeared to him, a moſt exquiſite fine thread of policy; for obſerving, that from a religious motive, the hearts of his ſubjects were attached to the Temple of Jeruſalem; and that, if he could not ſeparate them from the Jews in point of worſhip, he was not ſecure in the poſſeſſion of his portion of the em-

pire; he raiſed two idols, and inſiſted the ten tribes ſhould worſhip them, forſaking the true God, who was worſhiped in the Temple of Jeruſalem; but this keen piece of policy, as we read in the Book of Kings, was the very cauſe, which deprived his poſterity of the ſucceſſion to the crown; his ſon Nadab in conſequence of it, having loſt the kingdom and his life by the hands of the rebellious General Baaſſa. In the death which the Jews inflicted on our Saviour, they pretended, that political precaution made it neceſſary they ſhould deprive him of life, for otherwiſe, the Romans would demoliſh them for having acknowledged any other King but Cæſar; but for their having carried this curſed maxim into execution, heaven ordained as their puniſhment, that theſe very Romans, ſhould afterwards be the people to deſtroy them.

XLI. Thus Providence diſpoſes, that the very ſame means which Machiavilian politicians apply for their exaltation, or their ſecurity, become the inſtruments of their deſtruction. Haman, is hang'd on the ſame gallows, which he prepared for Mordecai. Perillus, is burnt in the ſame brazen ox, which he fabricated to indulge the cruelty of Phalaris. Callipus, tyrant of Sicily, has his throat cut by the ſame knife, with which he took away the life of the generous Dion. Iſaac Aaron, a Greek

Greek by nation, whoſe eyes were put out by order of the Emperor Emanuel Comenus, as a puniſhment for his evil deeds, afterwards adviſed the uſurper Adronicus, not only to put out the eyes of his enemies, but to cut their tongues out alſo; becauſe, that after being deprived of their ſight, they could do miſchief with their tongues. The Emperor Iſaac Angelo, ſucceeded Andronicus, and ordered, that the tongue of the infamous counſellor who had before loſt his eyes, ſhould be cut out likewiſe. Perrin, Captain General of Geneva, the great perſecutor of the Catholics, when in the year 1535, that republic changed their religion, cauſed the ſtone of the great altar in the Cathedral to be tranſported to the place of execution, that it might ſerve as a ſcaffold to diſpatch delinquents on; and father Maimburgus, in his Hiſtory of Calviniſm, tells us, that the blood of Perrin, who was beheaded for his crimes, was the firſt which ſtained the ſtone. Thomas Cromwell, whom Henry the Eighth, when he erected himſelf into head of the Engliſh church, conſtituted his ſupreme vicar in all eccleſiaſtical matters, was a man extremely falſe, cruel, and avaricious. To furniſh pretences for perſecuting the eccleſiaſtics, that he might enrich himſelf with their ſpoils, he prevailed on Henry to make that moſt iniquitous law, that ſentences of death, and confiſcations, pronounced on people for high treaſon,

ſhould be good and valid, although they had not been heard in their defence; but Cromwell himſelf, was the firſt man this law was put in practice againſt; Henry having cauſed him to be beheaded, without his being heard or permitted to make any defence:

——— *Nec lex eſt æquior illa,*
Ut necis artifices arte perirent ſua.

XLII. Finally, and to ſum up the whole, if we ſearch hiſtory, we ſhall hardly find one among a thouſand of thoſe politicians, who have ſought to exalt themſelves by means of wicked arts and practices, that have not come to an unhappy end. Thus it has ever been till this time, and ſo it will ever continue to be from henceforward. What blindneſs then is it, to perſevere in following a path, by purſuing which, you can only by a miracle of chance avoid a precipice? What can this be but delirium, the infallible ſymptom of the fever of ambition? which is a flame that cannot burn with violence in any man, without his being affected with a phrenſy of the brain.

SECT. XIII.

XLIII. All we have ſaid of policy, as it relates to private people, may be applied to princes, or ſuperiors, who govern every kind of ſtate; and with

with reſpect to theſe alſo, the diviſion of policy into the high and the low, is apt and proper, as the firſt is ſecure, and the ſecond hazardous in them, in the ſame proportion, which it is with reſpect to ſubjects or private men. Any ruler whatever, who is endued with the three virtues, of prudence, juſtice, and fortitude, will be a ſingular good politician, without ever having read any of thoſe books, which treat of reaſons of ſtate. The true arts of governing, are, to chuſe ſuch miniſters as are wiſe and upright, to reward merit, and to puniſh crimes; to watch over, and attend to the intereſt of the public, and to be faithful in promiſes. By theſe means, the reſpect, the love, and the obedience of ſubjects, will be much more effectually ſecured, than by all that compound farrago of political ſubtilties, called reaſons of ſtate; a myſtery, depoſited in the minds of privy counſellors, which, as if it was a moſt ſacred thing, they never ſuffer to be totally diſplayed; nor ever to go forth to the public, unleſs covered with a thick veil; and is for the moſt part, no more than a ridiculous phantom, or vain idol, which under the title of a Deity, they exhibit for the adoration of the ignorant vulgar. Reaſon of ſtate, is the univerſal agitator, or primum mobile of a kingdom, and is the reaſon for every thing, without being the reaſon of any thing. If it is asked, why was ſuch a thing done, the anſwer is, for

reaſons of ſtate; very well, but why was ſuch another thing omitted to be done, why for reaſons of ſtate alſo. Would it not be better to ſay, it was done becauſe juſtice required it, or becauſe religion, clemency, or ſome moral virtue dictated the doing it? The reaſon of the directions of a miniſter to his inferiors, in all matters, is, that they are the King's commands. The reaſon why a Prince orders any thing to be done, ſhould be this, and this only, becauſe the commandments and laws of God, require it; for a Prince in a more rigorous ſenſe, is the miniſter of God, than his ſubalterns are miniſters to him.

XLIV. If we are to underſtand, that reaſon of ſtate means political prudence, why not call it by that name? becauſe the phraſe political prudence, implies or ſignifies a moral virtue, but the term, reaſon of ſtate, we don't know the meaning of. This expreſſion, *ragioni di ſtato*, took its riſe in Italy, but it does not ſeem as if they entertained a high veneration for it there, ſince we are told, that the holy Pontif Pius, could not bear to hear it mentioned; and was uſed to ſay, that reaſons of ſtate were the inventions of perverſe men, and the very reverſe of religion and the moral virtues. It was obſervable, that Pope Pius, in no caſe ſtood in need of theſe political ſubtilties; for without their aid, he was not only

only a great ſaint, but a diſtinguiſh'd and exemplary ruler.

XLV. It was a remark of the celebrated Bacon, that the moſt deſirable governments which the church has in all times experienced, were under thoſe Popes, who having paſſed the greateſt part of their lives in monaſteries, were reputed ignorant of political buſineſs; and that theſe made excellent Princes, and recommended themſelves much more to the good opinion of poſterity, by their wiſe regulations, than thoſe, who had been bred in the ſchools, and had exerciſed themſelves all their lives, in the management of public affairs; inſtancing as examples of the truth of this aſſertion, Pius V. and Sextus V. who both reign'd in the ſame age: *Imò convertamus oculos ad regimen pontificium ac nominatim Pij V. vel Sixti V. noſtro ſæculo, qui ſub initiis habiti ſunt pro fraterculis rerum imperitis, inveniemuſque acta paparum ejus generis magis eſſe ſolere memorabilia, quam eorum, qui in negotiis civilibus, & principum aulis enutriti ad papatum aſcenderint (Lib. 1. de Augment. Scient.)* This teſtimony to the truth, is given by a Calviniſt Heretic, although abſtracted from his religion, he was in every ſenſe a great, and moſt enlightened man, and one, who was not more remarkable for his incomparable talents, than for his candour and ingenuity.

XLVI.

XLVI. The reaſon he gives why the Popes, who before their elevation to the throne, had lived in holy retirement, excelled in the mode and goodneſs of their government, thoſe, who before their riſe, had always been exerciſed in public buſineſs, entitles him to the appellations we have juſt beſtowed on him. He ſays, the want of civil inſtruction in thoſe Pontiffs, was more than compenſated for by their virtues; becauſe Princes, who follow ſteadily, the plain and ſafe road of religion, juſtice, and the other moral virtues, readily and expertly, without the aid of ſtudied policy, put in train, and diſpatch all ſorts of buſineſs that may occur to them. They are ſound and robuſt ſouls, who have no more occaſion for civil arts, than men who are healthy, and bleſſed with good conſtitutions have for phyſic. *In eo tamen aburdè ſit compenſatio, quod per tutum, planumque iter religionis, juſtitiæ, honeſtatis, virtutumque moralium, prompte, atque expedite incedant, quam viam, qui conſtanter tenuerint, illis alteris remediis non magis indigebunt, quam corpus ſanum medicina.*

XLVI. I almoſt bluſh, that a Heretic ſhould talk in this ſtrain, when among the Catholics, we find ſo many politicians who abound in very different maxims. But the caſe is, that the ſubtilties

tilties and artifices which compoſe what is commonly called worldly policy, are a ſort of remedies, which ſickly ſouls only, ſtand in need of. A vicious government, which he who has the management of, turns and winds to anſwer his private purpoſes, cannot exiſt without the help of ſuch medicaments, which may with as much propriety be called drugs, as thoſe that are ſold in an apothecary's ſhop. But a ſound underſtanding, endued and juſtly tempered with the four elemental qualities, of prudence, juſtice, fortitude, and ſobriety, with only the aſſiſtance of theſe virtues, will, without the ſuccour of other arts, and without embarraſſment, ſurmount all the difficulties that can occur in government.

XLVII. And ſince Bacon has mentioned him, let us take a curſory view of the reign of Sextus the Vth. This ſpirit, ſo truly incomparable, that it ſeems as if God had formed him for the purpoſe of governing the whole world; in whom, the magnanimity of Cæſar, the prudence of Auguſtus, and the juſtice of Trajan were joined, and who, in theſe virtues, even excelled them; in a few months after his mounting the throne, had gained the reſpect of all the Princes of Europe, and had put the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate in better order, and under

under better regulation, than it had been known to be bleſſed with or enjoy, for many antecedent ages. Thefts, cheating, murders, ſubornations, and licentious inſolence, were ſo effectually rooted out and baniſhed from that great city, that it never till then, could with ſo much propriety be called Holy Rome. All dread of extortion and injuſtice was loſt, and nobody feared, only God and the Pope; and as Gregory Leti tells us, in his Hiſtory of Sextus, women, and other defenceleſs perſons, could walk the ſtreets at all hours of the night, as ſafely, as they could walk in the cloiſters of a Capuchin Convent. In the five years which he reigned, he embelliſhed Rome with many noble edifices, and left the treaſury ſome millions richer than he found it. I aſk now, by what political arts, and what ingenious devices, he performed all theſe wonders? He knew no arts, ſave thoſe of an indefatigable vigilance and attention to the concerns of government; a fervent zeal for the public good, and an unalterable rectitude and juſtice. I cannot tell, whether what has been ſo much rumoured about Sextus having put on falſe appearances before his advancement to the throne, be true, but I believe it is not; and it is certain, that after he found himſelf ſeated in the Papal chair, he was a man void of all diſſimulation; always generous, open, free and ſincere, and one, who that his deſigns ſhould not appear occult, frankly ex-

poſed

poſed and laid them open; and unleſs the virtue of prudence dictated caution, or the character of the prelate demanded reſerve, he concealed the purpoſes of his heart from no man. This frankneſs, was natural to his genius, and he was the ſame in that reſpect while he was a religious; and therefore, I cannot give credit to what is ſaid of his practiſing duplicity while a Cardinal, in order to obtain the Popedom. It is more probable, that they miſtook what was the real effect of his virtue, for diſſimulation. They alſo charge him with doing violence to his nature, by bearing all ſorts of injuries patiently, that he might acquire the character of a meek and gentle man; but why ſhould not all this be imputed, to his deſire, in obedience to the goſpel precept, of imitating our Saviour? The ſeverity he obſerved when he was Pope, proves nothing to contradict this ſentiment; becauſe bearing with offences that are merely perſonal, and thoſe which are committed againſt dignities, are very different things. They alſo ſay, he feigned himſelf decrepid and worn out with age and infirmities, to excite in his favour, the choice of the Cardinals; from the proſpect that his would be a ſhort pontificate, and that they ſhould have a quick return of another conclave. But notwithſtanding what people ſay, I don't believe the Cardinals are ſo much influenced by this ſort of policy as the world imagine, from their having ſo often choſen Popes of good conſtitutions,

conſtitutions, and not far advanced in years, provided at the time of their election, their judgment was arrived at that ſtate of maturity, which it is not common to attain but in a more advanced age. On the other hand, it is probable, that Sextus who was ſeventy-four when he aſcended the Papal chair, was much broke. If he afterwards ſeemed more robuſt, it might be, becauſe having charged himſelf with ſuch weighty obligations, he uſed extraordinary exertions to comply with what he had undertaken; and beſides this, the before cited Leti informs us, that to enable him to diſcharge the duties incumbent on him, he fed more copiouſly, and took more nouriſhing aliment, both with reſpect to meat and drink, when he was a Pope, than he did while he was a Cardinal.

XLVIII. I have dwelt with pleaſure on the eulogium of this ſingular man, who was always the object of my admiration, although ſome have been unjuſt enough, not to render him the praiſe due to his merit. And here by the way, I cannot forbear congratulating the ſeraphic religion, on having produced in the perſon of this Pontif, and in that of Cardinal Ciſneros, two politicians ſo eminent, that in my opinion the world never ſaw greater; though neither the one or the other have been without their enemies, who, envious of their merit, have ſtrove to tarniſh their glories; but what I moſt admire in this particular is, that ſo able

a man as Don Antonio de Solis, ſhould in the third Chap. of his Hiſtory of Mexico, paint the Cardinal, as a man deficient in point of political abilities; notwithſtanding he in all other reſpects, heaps on him the higheſt encomiums. Foreign authors do him more juſtice, and particularly, Flechier, Biſhop of Nimes, who with great judgment and diſcretion wrote his life, celebrates him, as a moſt eminent and brilliant politician: and another modern French author, having drawn a parallel of the characters of the two Cardinals, Ciſneros, and Richlieu, gives the preference to our countryman; acknowledging, that he was equal to the other as a politician, and much preferable to him as a devout man; though by the way, when he ſays this, he pays no great compliment to the ſanctity of Ciſneros.

XLIX. From all that has been ſaid on this ſubject, it is evident and plain, that with an equality of talents, thoſe politicians who proceed upon the principles of honeſty, and who purſue the road of rectitude and truth, will with greater certainty, and more eaſe, attain their ends, than thoſe, who follow the rout of artifice and deceit; for the firſt, is the ſound or true policy, the other, the rotten or falſe.

THE

THE MACHIAVELIANISM OF THE ANCIENTS.

SECT. I.

I. AS we are about to treat in this diſcourſe of the tyrannic doctrine of Machiavel; I believe it will be agreeable to the greateſt part of our readers, to have ſome particular information reſpecting this man, of whom all the world talks, and whom all the world deteſts; for by whatever means men make themſelves famous, they excite a curioſity to know who and what they were.

II. Nicholas Machiavel, who was a native of Florence, lived in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, and was a man of more than middling ingenuity. He wrote the Tuſcan language with

elegance and propriety, although his knowledge of the Latin was but moderate. He had a good genius for writing comic poetry, which he manifeſted in various pieces which he wrote for the theatre; and more particularly in one of them, that was repreſented at Florence with ſuch great applauſe, that it excited Pope Leo the tenth, as Paulus Jovius informs us, to cauſe it to be acted at Rome by the ſame players, and with the ſame dreſſes and decorations, with which it had been exhibited at Florence. When the unhappy conſpiracy againſt the family of the Medicis, was ſet on foot by the Soderinis, Machiavel, who was impeached as an accomplice in it, was put to the queſtion by torture; but either his fortitude, or his innocence, cauſed him to reſiſt the rigour of that trial without making the leaſt confeſſion. I do not know whether it was before, or after this event, that he was made ſecretary to the republic, but it is certain, that for the title of hiſtorian to it, which was conferred on him together with a good ſalary, he was totally indebted to the favour of the Medicis; but whether they did this from a conviction of his innocence with reſpect to the late conſpiracy, and were diſpoſed to recompence him by this honourable emolument, for the injury he ſuffered in the torture; or whether they did it from conſidering him as an able man whom they had a mind to keep under obligations to them, in order to

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avail themſelves of ſo good a pen as Machiavel's in their favour; I ſay, whichever of theſe motives they were actuated by, is not quite certain.

III. The conferring this benefit on him, did not prevent new ſuſpicions being entertained of his fidelity, and of his having concurred in another plot concerted by ſome private individuals, to take away the life of cardinal Julius de Medicis, who afterwards aſcended to the popedom, by the name of Clement the ſeventh. This ſuſpicion was founded entirely, on the repeated applauſes, with which both in his writings and private converſations, he had celebrated Brutus and Caſſius, as the defenders and vindicators of the liberty of the Roman republic; which at that time, was interpreted as an indirect exhortation to the Florentines to defend their liberty, which the Medicis either in reality or appearance, meditated to ſuppreſs. But with all this, either from mere motives of policy, or becauſe the ſuſpicions ſeemed lightly founded, no proceedings were had againſt Machiavel. It is confirmed however, that after this time, he paſſed the remainder of his days in miſery and poverty. Perhaps the Medicis, who were ſecretly diſpleaſed with him, thought it more adviſeable, inſtead of bringing him to open puniſhment, to accompliſh their

dark revenge, by occult ways and means. It might alſo happen, that he brought himſelf to poverty by his own miſconduct; but, be this as it will, he haſtened his death as many other people have haſtened theirs before him, by taking a precautionary medicine to prolong his life, which inſtead of lengthening, ſhortened it, and brought him to an untimely end in the year 1530.

IV. Machiavel was of a jocoſe and ſatyrical diſpoſition, and was believed to have little or no religion. There are ſome who ſay, that when he was near dying, they were under a neceſſity of employing the authority of the civil magiſtrate to oblige him to receive the ſacraments. We read in many authors, a wanton and inſolent impiety of his, under the colour of a joke; that is, his having ſaid, that he had much rather go to hell than heaven; becauſe in heaven he ſhould only meet with fryars, mendicants, and other miſerable and groveling people; but that in hell, he ſhould enjoy the company of popes, cardinals, and princes, with whom he could converſe of ſtate affairs. Others ſubſtitute, for his ſaying popes, cardinals, and princes, the moſt eminent philoſophers and political writers, ſuch as Plato, Ariſtotle, Plutarch, and Tacitus.

V. He

V. He publiſhed a variety of books, and among them, the life of Caſtrucius Caſtracani, and the hiſtory of Florence, which do not obtain the greateſt credit with the critics. But the work that made him jointly the moſt famous and infamous man in the world, was a political tract, intituled, "The Prince;" in which he teaches and recommends to all ſovereigns, to reign tyrannically, and to govern their people, without regarding either equity, law, or religion, but ſacrificing them all three, together with the public good, to his intereſt, his will, his caprice, and his own particular grandeur.

SECT. II.

VI. But notwithſtanding the principles of this book are ſo pernicious, there have not been wanting thoſe, who have patronized both the book and the author. Abraham Nicholas Amelot de Houſſaye, defends it in the moſt odious point of view, which is approving his maxims as beneficial to the public, and aſſerting, that they are only reprobated by ignorant men, who know nothing of politics or reaſons of ſtate; and adds, that the ſame people who now live as private men, and are unacquainted with the management of public buſineſs, and at preſent condemn them, were they by any great and unexpected change

of fortune, to arrive at being princes or prime miniſters, would approve, and practiſe them.

VII. There are others, who, although they acknowledge the maxims of Machiavel are pernicious, ſanctify the intention of the author. They ſay, that ſo far from intending to inſtruct princes againſt their people, he only meant to caution the people againſt the proceedings and arts of tyrants, to the end that princes, ſeeing the tendency of their ſchemes liable to be expoſed, ſhould be more circumſpect in their behaviour, and that the people, by being aware of the arms with which the attacks were made upon liberty, might be the better able to parry the blows. They add further, that Machiavel was under a neceſſity of uſing this artful method of warning the people, and of couching his cautions to them, under the veil and figure of teaching princes how to make themſelves abſolute, becauſe theſe laſt, would not have permitted his book to be licenced, if he had openly declared himſelf inimical to their total independency.

VIII. They endeavour to prove the probability of this ſentiment, by urging, that Machiavel was an utter enemy to tyranny, and a ſtrenuous advocate for the liberty of the republic; and that the whole tenor of his words and actions, conſpire

to manifeſt theſe were his inclinations. His two great and favourite heroes, were Brutus and Caſſius, who killed Cæſar to reſtore Rome to her liberty. He alſo quotes the tenth chapter of the firſt book of his diſcourſes, where he ſpeaks ſtrongly againſt tyrants; and urges further, that he was accuſed of being an accomplice with the Soderinis in their conſpiracy againſt the family of the Medicis, who were thought at that time, to have an intention of tyrannizing over the republic of Florence; and that he was afterwards, not exempt from being ſuſpected, of having a finger in the conſpiracy againſt the life of cardinal Julius de Medicis. Nardi, a Florentine author who was a contemporary with him, ſays, that he was cloſely connected with the contrivers of that plot and deſign, and alſo with the reſt of the faction, who were in oppoſition to the Medicis. He then proceeds to ſay, what view or intention could a man have in favouring and abetting tyrants, who had given ſo many proofs of his abhorrence of them? or how could the man be ſuſpected of deſigning to extend the power of princes above their natural ſphere, who had always manifeſted himſelf an admirer of democracy? he next ſays, it muſt follow then of courſe, that his intention muſt be different, and very contrary to what the ordinary and ſuperficial ſenſe of his words ſeem to import. This is the way thoſe reaſon, who ſupport this opinion.

IX. Finally, there are others, who admit that the maxims of Machiavel are deteſtable, but waiving the queſtion about what was his intention, they limit their excuſe of the author, by affirming, there has not, nor can there ariſe, any general inconvenience from the publication of them. Theſe ſay, that Machiavel has broached nothing new; and that his maxims are the ſame with thoſe you will find inſerted in various hiſtories, and which were practiſed by an infinite number of princes; and what more pernicious effect can they have on him who reads them in Machiavel's book, than on him who reads them in any other?

X. This is the very excuſe which Bocalini puts in the mouth of Machiavel, when he ſuppoſes him to be ſpeaking in his own defence before Apollo. He ſays, I do not pretend to defend my works, but rather to arraign, and condemn them as impious, and full of cruel and execrable documents for the government of ſtates; but provided the doctrine I have written ſhall appear to be new, or the invention of my brain, I am ready at this moment, to ſubmit to the execution of any ſentence, the judges ſhall think proper to fulminate againſt me. On the other hand, if my writings contain nothing more than thoſe political precepts, and thoſe rules of ſtate, which I have

have deduced from the actions and conduct of ſome princes, the ſpeaking ill of whom would formerly have been puniſhed with death, and, if you will be pleaſed to permit me, I can now name; I ſay if this be the caſe, what juſtice, what reaſon can there be, for reſpecting thoſe as little leſs than divinities, who have been the authors and inventors of all the furious and deſperate maxims of policy which appear in my writings; and of treating me, who have done nothing more than republiſh them, as an abandoned vagabond, and an Athieſt? I certainly cannot conceive, why the original ſhould be adored as a ſaint, and the copy execrated; nor why I deſerve to be ſo perſecuted, when the reading of hiſtories, not only tolerated, but recommended, are ſufficient to convert to Machiavels, all thoſe who peruſe them with a political view.

SECT. III.

XI. But not to leave the reader in ſuſpence, or not to give him occaſion to think that I propoſe theſe three opinions as problems, I will here declare the judgement I entertain of them. The firſt is falſe, ſhocking, abominable, and only worthy of a ſecond Machiavel. What reaſon, I won't ſay can dictate, but even endure the deteſtable maxims, that a prince owes more to himſelf

ſelf than to the republic? that this laſt was inſtituted by nature for the convenience of the prince, and not the prince for the good of the republic? that the right to govern with tyrannic ſway, is an appendage, appertaining to the prerogative of the crown? that the untimely and diſgraceful deaths of tyrants, ought to be attributed to chance, and not to the divine vengeance or judgements? with others of the ſame ſort.

XI. The ſecond apology, is contradicted by the literal and natural ſenſe of the author's writings; for if he intended to convey a meaning which was different from theſe, it is not eaſy to aſcertain what that meaning was. I will admit as good and concluſive, all the arguments that are uſed to prove Machiavel was an enemy to tyranny. There is no man whatever who does not abhor tyranny, while he contemplates it as a reſtraint on his own perſon, or while he is apprehenſive part of the weight of it may be loaded on his own ſhoulders. But many of thoſe who abhor it in general, are friends to it in particular, and eſpecially, if they entertain hopes that the favour of the tyrant will better their fortunes. It is very natural to ſuppoſe, this was the ſtate and ſituation of Machiavel's mind when he wrote his book. The Medicis at that time ruled the city of Florence; and he imagined that he ſhould ſooth and flatter them, by approv-

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ing and recommending a government, that dispensed with all law, as the means the best calculated to pave the way for the introduction and establishment of despotic power. Perhaps also, he might entertain hopes, that some prince who read his book, might be induced to make him his prime minister, from an expectation, that by having the author of these maxims at his elbow, he might be able to raise his power to the highest pitch of uncontroul and grandeur.

XIII. The excuse, with which it is attempted to defend Machiavel by the third supposition, is manifestly sophistical. It cannot be denied, that we read in a variety of authors, of numbers of princes who have put in practice the doctrine of Machiavel; but there is this great difference between those authors and Machiavel, that they condemn the doctrine, which he adopts and enforces. They, at the same time that they inform you of the fact, inspire you with horror of the maxim; he, when he teaches the maxim, exhorts to the execution of it. How great must his zeal have been to recommend and persuade tyranny, when he had the presumption to propose Moses and David, as examples of tyrannic government? but to this execrable degree of impiety, did Machiavel carry his daring blasphemy.

XIV. With

XIV. With regard to the peculiar defence which Bocalina makes for Machiavel, it is eaſy to ſee, at whom his malignant expreſſions point; which he might very well have omitted, becauſe without alluding to any one in ſo elevated a form of life, he had very near at hand in the perſon of Cæſar Borgia*, a man furniſhed with all the requiſites for his purpoſe, and whom he did not run much hazard of announcing. I mean, that in order to excuſe Machiavel from being the inventor of the maxims he publiſhed, and to point out ſome perſon under whom he had ſtudied and learned them, he could have fixed on no one more proper than that prince, becauſe Cæſar Borgia was without doubt, a man of moſt iniquitous and tyrannic politics, and capable of committing all ſorts of wickedneſs, provided his doing it would contribute to advance his grandeur; for he was fiery, daring, and cruel, and was beſides ſo furiouſly ambitious, that were it in his power, he was capable of burning the whole world, for the ſake afterwards of domineering abſolutely over the aſhes of it.

XV. Hermanus Coringius, a proteſtant author, ſays, that Machiavel was ſome time in the ſervice of this prince. If this be true, it is eaſy to gueſs from whom he learned what he afterwards

* The ſon of Pope Alexander the ſixth.

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committed to writing; and I believe the Italians would not disdain to acknowledge, that their Florentine politician had been instructed by a Spanish master.

XVI. But the truth is, that Machiavel had no occasion to seek for an example, either in him, or in any other of the princes of his own time; for as he was a man pretty well read in history, every age had furnished him with examples in plenty. They mistake little less, who suppose Machiavel learned his maxims from the politicians of his day; than those do, who believe the politics, posterior to Machiavel, were taken from his doctrines.

XVII. But notwithstanding all that can be urged in opposition to it, this second opinion is much entertained and received by people of little reading and short reflection, in which group we may suppose to be comprehended the bulk of mankind. Not a few, when they converse upon this subject, add with a mysterious gravity, and as if they were extracting a profound apophthegm from the inmost recesses of their understandings, that although Machiavel was the master who introduced this doctrine, it has since his time been so much improved upon in courts, that if the master could now come back into the world, he would find it necessary to go to school again.

XVIII. I can-

XVIII. I cannot refrain from laughter, when I hear men diſcourſe in this manner, who, from their education, ought to know and reaſon better. The maxims of tyrannic policy are as antient in the world, as government or dominion. Machiavelianiſm owes its firſt exiſtence to the moſt antient princes of the earth, and only to Machiavel its name. It is rooted in our nature, and it does not require ages, as moments, when fit occaſions preſent themſelves, are equal to bring forth its malignant productions. Nor is the paſſion of domineering more natural to man, than that of amplifying and extending his dominion. An ambitious man, by attaining to be a prince, does not find his ambition ſatisfied; but is always deſirous of extending his power, exteriorly with reſpect to the ſubjects of other ſtates, and interiorly with regard to his own. The love of independence can ſeldom be contained within reaſonable bounds. He who is free from all ſubjection to other men, aſpires at being independent of the laws alſo.

SECT. IV.

XIX. I am ſo far from thinking that Machiavel has made the world worſe in this reſpect, or from ſuppoſing that the princes of theſe times, have refined upon the iniquitous politics of Machiavel, that I firmly believe, if we limit our enquiries

preciſely to Europe, we ſhall find the ſovereigns of it in general, much better than thoſe of the remote ages.

XX. Now-a-days, if it is in contemplation to impoſe ſome new burthen on the ſubject, or to wage war with a neighbouring ſtate, divines and lawyers are conſulted upon the juſtice and propriety of the meaſure; an enquiry is made, how the laws ſtand with reſpect to the ſubject matter in queſtion, and the archives and records are examined and turned over; and although it often happens, that from the ambitious adulation of the people conſulted, a right is attributed to their prince, which in reality does not belong to him, their malice does not impeach his good faith. In former times this was not the caſe. If a prince was diſpoſed to trample on the rights of his ſubjects, or to ſubdue his neighbours, he conſulted nobody, nor made any other enquiry or examination, than whether he had force and power ſufficient to accompliſh what he meditated; and the queſtion was always decided, by his ability or inability to execute what he deſigned. In times not very diſtant from our own, and even in the moſt poliſhed kingdoms, where the true religion has humanized people's minds, when the perſon invaded by a powerful prince his neighbour, has repreſented to him, that his pretenſions

to what he poſſeſſes are juſt and legal; the invader has laughed at the repreſentation, and anſwered ſavagely, in the language that was then become proverbial in the mouths of kings and miniſters of ſtate, that the rights of princes were not to be determined by old rolls of parchment, but by burniſhed arms.

SECT. V.

XXI. The further our memories carry us back through the ſeries of paſt times, we find this evil the greater; and from hence proceeds that ill opinion, which in early ages was generally entertained of kings. The Romans were ſtruck with amazement, to find the Cappadocians, upon their offering to make their country a free republic, inſtantly requeſt, that they would permit them to remain under kingly government; which amazement, was occaſioned by their conſidering in a rigorous or ſtrict ſenſe, that mode of rule, as a mark or type of ſlavery. Cato ſaid, this animal which is called a king, is a great devourer of human fleſh; *Hoc animal rex carnivorum eſt.* And Flavius Vopiſcus, tells us of a Roman buffoon, who pleaſantly and keenly remarked, that the effigies of all the good kings that had ever been known in the world, might be carved on a ring. Plato, in his Georgiac dialogue,

logue, repreſents kings as appearing before Rhadamanthus in hell, loaded for the moſt part with injuſtices, perjuries, and other wickedneſs. Ariſtotle, in his third book on politics, recognizes as tyrannical, the exerciſe of the regal power, by all, or nearly all, the Aſiatic princes; and Livy ſays, that the moſt ſagacious and penetrating Hannibal, never confided in the promiſes of kings: *fidei regum nihil ſanè confiſus*; a legate of the Rhodians alſo, according to the ſaid Livy, obſerved, that kings were always deſirous of making ſlaves of their ſubjects. Thus we have the greateſt reaſon to conclude, that it was a common practice with the princes of thoſe times, to pay no regard to any law, whenever an opportunity offered of augmenting their authority.

SECT. VI.

XXII. But we ſhould not conclude that this was all done by main force, without the intervention of art or ſtratagem. The ſame contrivances, the ſame artifices, which we read of in Machiavel, and which have been practiſed by the moſt crafty tyrants of theſe latter ages, were exerted in the early ones. Caſt your eyes on Romulus, ſeeking for a ſpecious pretence of juſtice for taking away the life of his brother, in order to remove this obſtacle to his reigning without the danger of a

rival, and in ſecurity: view his ſucceſſor, Numa Pompilius alſo, who was a moſt conſummate hypocrite, affecting exteriorly to appear religious and devout, and to pay a great reſpect to rites and ceremonies. He pretended to receive viſions and revelations from the goddeſs Egeria, in order that the Roman people, looking upon him as a man favoured in an eſpecial manner by heaven, ſhould not only not dare to entertain thoughts of dethroning him, but permit him to aggrandize himſelf at his diſcretion; we have another example of the ſame ſort of policy, in Tullius Hoſtilius, who ſucceeded Numa, and introduced with great art, thoſe oſtentatious outſide appearances, which dazzle the eyes of the world, and are the moſt efficacious means to make majeſty formidable and reſpectable; for he likewiſe ſought out deceitful pretences, for making war on the neighbouring ſtates: we ſee Tarquin the Proud alſo, availing himſelf of the ſtratagem of his ſon Sextus, who, under the pretence of being a fugitive from his father's cruelty, fled to, and entreated refuge among the Gabians, on whom, after their receiving him kindly, he artfully prevailed to make him their generaliſſimo, veſted with an abſolute power; in conſequence of which, he was enabled to ſell and betray them. He did ſo, and they became an eaſy prey to the Romans.

XXIII.

XXIII. Is not that famous precept of Machiavel's, that with an enemy reduced to great ſtraits or difficulties, you ſhould take no middle courſe, but, according as you find it moſt for your intereſt, ſhould either ruin him totally, or give him your hand to extricate him out of his danger; punctually conformable to the advice which Herennius gave to his ſon Pontius, who was general of the Samnites? When this general had ſhut up the Roman army within the Caudine Forks, he ſent information of it to his father, and at the ſame time deſired to have his advice, reſpecting how he ſhould act by them. The old man anſwered, that he ſhould generouſly open the paſs, and let them go free, without any condition or limitation whatever, that might be injurious to, or affect either their lives, their liberty, or their honour. Pontius, and all the principal people of the republic who were with the army, believed, that Herennius had not well underſtood or conſidered the information that had been ſent him, nor apprehended, that the whole Roman army were entirely at their mercy. They therefore ſent other meſſengers or deputies, with inſtructions to inform him minutely, of the unhappy ſituation and ſtate of the Roman army, whoſe lives, without remedy, were at their diſcretion and diſpoſal. To this he

anſwered, that they ſhould cut all their throats, and not ſpare a ſingle man of them. Two anſwers ſo diametrically oppoſite, made ſome of them ſuſpect that the old man was not in his right ſenſes; but notwithſtanding this ſuſpicion, as they had for many years reſpected him as the oracle and ſoul of the republic, the major part of them began to conjecture, and not without reaſon, that there was ſome myſtery contained in theſe contradictory replies, which they did not comprehend, or were not aware of; and they therefore deſired, that he would come to the camp and explain himſelf. He came accordingly, and told them his ſentiments; which were, that they ſhould adopt one or other of the extremes, and either gain their affections by an heroic act of generoſity, or extirpate them totally, to prevent their ever being able to revenge themſelves for whatever indignity they ſhould impoſe on them. Pontius did not follow the advice of the old man, but took a middle way, which was, to ſpare their lives, but diſmiſs them with the loſs of their honour, by obliging conſuls, officers, and ſoldiers, to ſubmit to the ſignal diſgrace of *paſſing under the yoke*. The reſult of this was, what might eaſily have been foreſeen and expected, the Romans, ſtung with the ignominy they had undergone, could not divert their thoughts from meditating revenge, which they after a while determined

mined to take; and breaking through the ſtipulated conditions, they renewed the war with a ſtronger army, and totally routed and overthrew the Samnites.

XXIV. We muſt allow, that the determination Pontius took was imprudent; but it does not follow from thence, that we ſhould approve the advice of Herennius; for although the firſt was inſecure, the other was cruel in extreme. He might have fallen upon other expedients, better ſuited and proportioned to the nature of the caſe; ſuch as taking hoſtages, and before permitting the army to depart, obliging them to deliver into their poſſeſſion, certain towns and diſtricts as pledges, for the faithful performance of their engagements; but the ſuppoſing that the faith of ſtipulations or compacts, would have more influence upon a vain, proud, warlike people, than the indignation conceived for a groſs affront offered to their honour, was very idle, and very ſilly confidence.

XXV. Neither, as I have already ſaid, do I think there was any ſecurity in the extreme benign advice of Herennius; for with the Romans, ambition was more powerful than public faith, or the obligations of gratitude. A good teſtimony to this truth, was their behaviour to the Numan-

tians, which was a true ſample of the politics of thoſe times.

SECT. VII.

XXVI. I ſay of thoſe times, to avoid cenſuring the Romans ſingly; for in Greece alſo, the not performing a promiſe given, or even ſworn to, when the obſervance of it claſhed with the intereſt of the ſtate, was ſo common, that a ſovereign for having done it, was hardly looked upon to have impeached his character as a juſt prince, or an honeſt man.

XXVII. Ageſilaus, king of Sparta, was one of the moſt celebrated princes of antiquity; and although he was an eminent warrior, placed his principal glory in being thought a lover of virtue and juſtice. To one who called the ſovereign of Perſia the great monarch, he anſwered ſharply, *he who is not better than me, is not a greater king than myſelf.* He was exceedingly ſober, patient of labour, and ſuch a reſpecter of the Gods, that he would not permit even his enemies, who had taken refuge in the temples, to be forced from their ſanctuary; and was beſides, ſo averſe to dreſs and finery, that there was ſcarce a ſoldier in his army, more humbly or ſimply cloathed than himſelf. But this ſaint of Paganiſm, made not the leaſt

leaſt ſcruple of violating the public faith, when by the violation he expected to derive ſome advantage to the ſtate. By means of one of his emiſſaries he, in profound peace, ſurprized and ſeized on the city of Thebes; and although in Sparta, the juſtice of the action was ſomewhat diſputed, as ſoon as it was ſhewn, that the keeping the place was of importance to the kingdom, they immediately conſented to ſend a garriſon to maintain the citadel. In his expedition to Egypt, he abandoned king Taco, in whoſe pay and ſervice he and his Lacedæmonian troops were engaged, and joined the rebel Nectanebus, without making any other excuſe for this treachery, than that he found it for the intereſt of his country.

XXVIII. Ariſtides, the Cato of the Athenians, who by way of eminence they called the Juſt, having cauſed his country to ſwear to a certain thing, and having in the name of it ſworn to it himſelf likewiſe, perſuaded them afterwards to violate the oath, becauſe the obſervance of it would be productive of ſome inconvenience to them. Plutarch, who cites Theophraſtus as his author, adds, that to ſerve his country he did many iniquitous things. Such were the juſt men of Greece, and ſuch was their policy.

SECT. VIII.

XXIX. I well know, that in the opinion of many people, this political money is current in our times, and that it is frequently ſaid, the words and promiſes of thoſe who have the ſupreme management of affairs, ſhould not remain in force for any longer time than they are found not to claſh with the intereſts of the ſtate. I have read of an Italian prince, who, when he was negotiating a peace with a powerful monarch, requeſted among other conditions, the reſtitution of a large part of his territories, which had been taken from him during the war, to which requeſt, the ambaſſador of the monarch anſwered, *what reliance can the king my maſter place on the fidelity of your highneſs, in caſe he gives you all you aſk?* to which the prince replied—Aſſure him, that I will pledge my word to him to fulfil my engagements, not in quality of a ſovereign, for in that capacity, whenever favourable opportunities offer, it behoves me to ſacrifice every thing to my grandeur, and the intereſts of my ſtate; but as a gentleman, and a man of honour.

XXX. But after all, this aſſurance contains in it a large portion of hyperbole; for I firmly believe, the majority of the princes of this day, are ſcru-

ſcrupulous about breaking the treaties they have entered into; although it be true, that at every turn, you will hear them reciprocally accuſing each other of being the infringers of them; but it ſeldom happens, that either of the parties can ſo clearly make out the juſtice of his cauſe, as not to leave room for a difference of opinion on the ſubject. Thus they both go upon probabilities, and alſo upon the ſtrength of probabilities, accuſe each other. If either of them happens to be a perſon of ſo enlarged a conſcience, as knowingly, and without ſcruple, to trample on all the obligations of equity, juſtice, and public faith, he endeavours notwithſtanding to ſave appearances, and to ſeek ſome ſpecious pretence for his behaviour. This ſhews, that he is aſhamed of what he does, and would gladly hide the odium of his actions for fear of being pointed at, which would not happen, if breaking their words was ſo common among princes, and ſo little ſcrupled by them, as ſome would perſuade us.

XXXI. I know very well, that an anonymous French author, aſſerted a few years ago, that Don Ferdinand the Catholic, being told that Louis the twelfth of France complained he had twice deceived him, replied, *By the Lord! the French man lies, for it was not twice, but ten times that I deceived*

deceived him. If ſuch a thing ever happened, we may ſuppoſe, that our Don Ferdinand prided himſelf in perfidy. But theſe are mere goſſips tales, and ſuch as prudent people pay no regard to. I ſuppoſe, that before this joke or tale, could arrive at the ears of the French man who wrote it, from the mouth of Don Ferdinand, it muſt neceſſarily paſs through the mouths of a hundred different people; and we may conclude, that out of that hundred, at leaſt ninety of them were more capable of framing it, than Don Ferdinand was of uttering it.

XXXII. But admitting this was true, all that can be inferred from it is, that among a great number of princes of our times, here and there one of them, has without ſhame or bluſhing, practiſed lying and deceit in the affairs of ſtate; whereas among the antients, this was very frequent and common; for all, or nearly all of them, ſeem to have ſtamped on their hearts, that ſentence of Chorebus: *Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoſte requirat?* or ſome other like it.

SECT. IX.

XXXIII. But our ſurprize will ceaſe at their acting in this manner, when we reflect, that that great philoſopher and oracle of antiquity, the divine

vine Plato, by his doctrine, taught, that it was lawful for thoſe who had the management of public affairs, to lye, whenever it could be of uſe to the intereſts of the ſtate. *Igitur rempublicam adminiſtrantibus præcipue, ſi quibus aliis, mentiri licet, vel hoſtium, vel civium, cauſa ad communem civitatis utilitatem. Reliquis autem à mendacio abſtinendum eſt.* (lib. III. de Repub.) If the princes of antiquity had ſo able a maſter, and one of ſo great authority, what loſs could they be at for want of a Machiavel?

XXXIV. It is true, that Plato only allowed lying to be lawful, in caſes where it might be conducive to advance the public good; Machiavel adviſes it, whenever it can be uſeful to ſerve the particular intereſts of a tyrant. Thus Plato was a bad moraliſt, and Machiavel a bad man. But this difference in the character of the maſters, does not prevent tyrants from making the ſame uſe of the doctrine of Plato, for the purpoſe of ſerving their particular conveniencies, that diſintereſted princes may do for the good of the public, becauſe a tyrant, always endeavours to make the people believe, that every thing he does to advance his own grandeur, is tranſacted with a view of promoting their intereſt; and if at any time he is detected in a lye, he will pretend that he lyed for the public good, and quote the doctrine of

Plato

Plato to juſtify his conduct; but in caſe this doctrine of Plato's ſhould appear too limited or confined for tyrants, as in truth it is, they may be ſupplied with a much more copious and enlarged ſyſtem, in the writings of Plato's diſciple Ariſtotle.

XXXV. I do not mean to ſay, that Ariſtotle was an abettor of perverſe policy, or that he wrote with a deſign of inſtructing tyrants in the methods by which they might make themſelves abſolute, and ſupport themſelves by tyrannic rule, but only mean to declare, that in the fifth book of his Politics, cap. 11. he did it without intending it, or without being aware that he was doing it. In this chapter, which is a pretty long one, not only thoſe two famous maxims, *Oderint dum metuant*, *Divide ut imperes*, are exactly pointed out and applied; but all, or very near all the others, which are publiſhed by the Florentine author, in his book intitled Il Principe, are to be found in this chapter of Ariſtotle's. I have never ſeen Machiavel's book, but only the capital maxims of it, as they are cited by other authors; but hear Hermanus Conringius, who has read both that and Ariſtotle. He ſays, Nicholas Machiavel, that trumpeter of political arts, cannot, nor does not, teach his prince any arcana or ſecrets, for promoting or maintaining tyrannic dominion, which many hundred years before, had not been taught by Ariſtotle in his fifth book of Politics;

Politics; and it is not improbable, but that cunning teacher and promoter of wickedneſs, tranſcribed from Ariſtotle, although he concealed the plagiary, all that he publiſhed in his own book; but there is a remarkable difference in the application the two maſters make of their doctrine, which is, that Machiavel adviſes all princes without diſtinction, to purſue and practiſe what he teaches; whereas Ariſtotle declared more juſtly and frankly, his to be fit and neceſſary for tyrants only. (Conring. Introduct. ad Politic. Ariſtotelis, cap. III.)

XXXVI. But let the truth prevail. I ſay the ſame of both Ariſtotle and Machiavel, which is, that neither of them were the inventors of ſyſtems of perverſe policy; for that they copied them, from the actions of the kings of Perſia and Egypt; from the Archelaus's and Philips of Macedon; from the Phalaris's, the Agathocles's, the Hierones, and Dionyſius's of Sicily; from the Perianders, from the Piſiſtratus's, and other political peſts of Greece.

SECT. X.

XXXVII. Nor can I perceive ſuch profundity or acuteneſs, in theſe ſo much applauded maxims, either of Ariſtotle, or Machiavel, as may render it worth the while of a politician of ſpecial perſpicuity,

cuity, to beſtow much time in reading or ſtudying them; as a moderate underſtanding, without their help, will enable a man to acquire all they teach; nor is there any thing neceſſary to carry them into execution, but a hardened and a perverted heart.

XXXVIII. The maxim, that a tyrant muſt be ſupported by making himſelf feared, and not truſt to the love of his ſubjects, is as clear as day-light; for how can thoſe, whom he is continually oppreſſing with a hard ſlavery, have any love for him? And it follows of courſe, that he muſt treat them as he would enemies, and endeavour to keep them poor, as every one knows, that the more you impoveriſh your enemy, the more you deprive him of the means of injuring you.

XXXIX. It is alſo an immediate conſequence deducible from the ſame principle, that it will be proper for him to put more confidence in ſtrangers, than his own ſubjects; for who but a ſtupid perſon, would confide in one, who he knows is fired with indignation againſt him? The neceſſity of keeping a number of emiſſaries in ſuch a ſituation, to inform him of the words and actions of thoſe whom he ſuſpects are not his friends, would occur to every ruſtic, and is what is daily practiſed by ruſtics in their way; for if one of theſe ſuſpects any

any man to be his enemy, he is continually obſerving his conduct, watching his motions, and as far as he is able, prying into his deſigns. The advantages of religious and virtuous appearances, to command reſpect, are manifeſt to every young girl; and the art of fomenting diſcords, and encouraging oppoſite factions in a ſtate, in order to preſerve the balance of power equal between them, may be learned from the tumblers and rope-dancers, who ſupport themſelves, by keeping the weights at the oppoſite ends of their poles in equilibrio.

XL. It was ſaid of Catherine of Medicis, who with the niceſt caution, and greateſt vigilance, continued to put this contrivance in practice for a long time, that ſhe ſtudied Machiavel every day, and that ſhe had always his book in her hand, or elſe laying by her, which occaſioned a ſatyrical writer to call it the New Teſtament of the queen; but perhaps this was ſaid of her, on account of her being obliged to have recourſe to the beforenamed arts. But in order to do this, what neceſſity was there for her having ſuch a maſter at her elbow? The poſture and ſituation of affairs, pointed out ſufficiently to a perſon of the abilities and penetration of that queen, the utility of diſpenſing ſome favours to the heretics, and by conciliating their good-will, cauſing their weight to ſerve as a counterpoize to the power of the catholics,

tholics, of whom ſhe was jealous and apprehenſive, but always taking care at the ſame time to declare and profeſs, that in point of faith ſhe was a catholic, to prevent the affections of that party from being weaned and eſtranged from her.

XLI. There have not been wanting thoſe, who have attributed the ſame policy to Conſtantine the Great, who, at the ſame time that he was favouring Chriſtianity, kept Gentiles in his miniſtry, and filled poſts of importance with them. But this we ſhould ſuppoſe was an act of neceſſity, becauſe it was incumbent on him to proceed with caution, in ſo great and arduous a work, as that of the converſion of the whole Roman empire. If he had endeavoured to beat down Paganiſm at a blow, and by open force and violence, he might poſſibly never have been able to accompliſh it.

SECT. XI.

XLII. I ſay the ſame, of all the other rules or practices of tyrannic and deceitful policy. What ability or penetration does it require, to invade with an armed force, the territories of a neighbouring prince or republic, and ſurprize ſome of the fortified towns of thoſe, who thinking themſelves ſecure, and relying upon the faith of an eſtabliſhed peace, are off their guard, and not prepared

prepared to reſiſt the attack? To accompliſh this, requires nothing more, than for a man to become compleatly callous to the fear of God, and to have loſt all ſenſe of ſhame of the world. To find a plauſible pretence for doing it, is the moſt eaſy thing imaginable, for a child of ten years old, is never at a loſs for ſuch a one, whenever he is diſpoſed from motives of intereſt, or through fickleneſs, to break a little friendſhip or connexion he has engaged in.

XLIII. The barbarous maxim, of getting rid of brothers or relations, to remove the moſt dangerous apprehenſions of, or incitements to, inſurrections, does not require ingenuity to execute it, but cruelty only. We ſee the Ottoman emperors have practiſed it in a variety of ways; ſome have taken away the lives of their brothers and relations, others have deprived them of ſight, and others of liberty, by ſhutting them up in cloſe confinement. They were all equally apprized of the importance of preventing the danger, but they were not all equally fierce and cruel. Thus in proportion to the degrees of their barbarity, or their fears, their rigour in the practice of the maxim, was greater or leſs. Mahomed the third, when he mounted the throne, not ſatisfied with putting to death his whole twenty-one brothers, ordered ten Sultanas, likewiſe, who were then pregnant, to be thrown

into the ſea and drowned; whereas others, have contented themſelves with confining thoſe who were related to them in a priſon, with reaſonable accommodations appertaining to it. This great difference in their conduct, did not proceed from their diſtinct political ideas, but from the diverſity of their tempers and diſpoſitions.

XLIV. As we are now treating on this ſubject, this ſeems a proper occaſion, for taking notice of a common error and opinion, which prevails among many people with reſpect to the Ottoman emperors, viz. that the bloody maxim of ſacrificing their own brothers to their ſafety, in order to their poſſeſſing the throne in ſecurity, is peculiar to the Ottoman race. This barbarous and atrocious policy, is much more ancient than the ſtock of Ottoman princes, and was more generally practiſed by other royal families than by them. Plutarch, ſpeaking of thoſe kings who were the ſucceſſors of Alexander, and among whom the vaſt conqueſts of that hero were divided, ſays, that cruel maxim was ſo univerſally adopted by their deſcendants, that they conſidered it as an invariable political axiom, and as a ſelf-evident firſt principle, indiſpenſably neceſſary to be adhered to, and which followed of courſe, with as much certainty as geometrical poſtulata. *Fratrum parricidia, ut petitiones geometræ ſumunt, ſic concedebantur, habitanturque, communis quædam petitio*

petitio ad ſecuritatem, & Regia. Plutarch. in Demetrio.

XLV. I do not know whether the ſoil and climate of Aſia is not more naturally adapted for the production of theſe political monſters, than that of Europe, for we have ſeen in all times, the princes of the Aſiatic regions, more addicted to purſue tyrannic and cruel maxims, than thoſe of Europe. By confining one's attention immediately to the preſent times, what appears to me is, that the Europeans, who for the moſt part have ſome knowledge of Machiavel, commonly found their governments upon principles of juſtice and moderation; and that the oriental people, who do not know that there ever was ſuch a man as Machiavel in the world, moſt frequently, practiſe the very ſame perverſe maxims, which this maſter of wickedneſs taught; and I think the Chineſe, are the only orientals who are an exception to this general rule.

SECT. XII.

XLVI. I would not have it underſtood by what I have ſaid, that I think the reading of Machiavel would not be pernicious; for it would without doubt be ſo to many, and eſpecially if their diſpoſitions incline them to the ſide of ambition. There have been, and ever will be, an infinite

number of tyrants, who never heard of, or read Machiavel's book, intituled The Prince; but that book may probably have made tyrants of many, who never would have been ſuch without peruſing it; and it would have the ſame effect in the hands of a weak prince, that the mouth of an evil counſellor would have applied to his ear.

XLVII. One of the moſt atrocious and treacherous acts ever recorded in hiſtory, and one that has made the greateſt noiſe in the world, was, the unworthy putting to death of the great Pompey, which was occaſioned intirely, by young Ptolemy who was then king of Egypt, having at the time it was committed, a Machiavel by his ſide, in the perſon of the depraved Theodotus.

XLVIII. Pompey, after being routed in the battle of Pharſalia, and becoming a fugitive from Cæſar and his fortune, thought no aſylum could be more convenient and ſafe for him, than the kingdom of Egypt; becauſe the prince who then reigned there, was indebted to him, for the great favour of having reinſtated his father on that throne, from whence he had been caſt down by his own ſubjects. On the confidence of this ſervice, he ſteered for Alexandria, and upon entering the port, ſent to inform the king of his arrival, and beg that protection from him, which he had

had ſo juſt a right to demand. The king ſummoned a council to deliberate on the matter, in which the majority of votes, were for doing what was honourable and right, and gave it as their opinion, that the unfortunate hero ſhould be entertained and protected. But Theodotus, who had got the aſcendency over the young king, and who had more influence with him than every body elſe, ſuggeſted to him, that he ſhould not only not grant Pompey his protection, but that he ſhould take away his life alſo.

XLIX. But let us hear from Lucan, the reaſons of convenience, on which that depraved politician grounded his advice for perpetrating ſo horrid and atrocious an act of treachery, in order, that by comparing them with thoſe of Machiavel, we may diſcern, whether the principles of the Florentine maſter were well underſtood in thoſe times. But it is proper to obſerve, that Lucan makes the eunuch Photinus the author of the advice, inſtead of Theodotus; whereas other writers do not make Photinus the adviſer, but aſſiſted by the general Aquilas, the executor of the wickedneſs; and ſome others again, attribute to this laſt, a great part, if not the whole of the ſuggeſtion.

L. But whether Theodotus, Aquilas, or Photinus, was the firſt who ſuggeſted the treacherous cruelty,

is not material to the main queſtion. The arguments uſed with Ptolemy, to incite him to the deed, were as follow: That great as his father's obligations were to Pompey, he ought to conſider, that he owed more to himſelf than he did to him; that Fortune had declared itſelf in favour of Cæſar, and againſt Pompey, and that it would be the height of imprudence to take part with that ſide, to whom Fortune was averſe; that although it was true, the affording Pompey an aſylum had the appearance of an honeſt action, ſtill, princes ought not to attend to what was honeſt, but to what was uſeful; that the monarch, who is deſirous of confining his operations within the limits of juſtice, is more a ſlave of the laws, than a maſter of his dominions; that the ſupreme power is paramount to all law, nor can it acknowledge any ſubjection; that it was beyond a doubt, the affording Pompey protection in his kingdom, would ſoon bring on him, the invincible arms of Cæſar, and the power of the whole Roman empire; againſt which attack, he would be unable to make the ſlighteſt reſiſtance; that he already, as far as his ability went, had complied with his obligations to Pompey, by wiſhing that he might be victorious; but now that Cæſar had won the day, he ought to attach himſelf to the conqueror, and endeavour to court his favour, by taking away the life of Pompey; that purſuing the medium, of neither receiving nor

nor deſtroying him, would be the worſt reſolution they could take, for that by ſuch a determination, they would loſe the uſeful, without attaining the honeſt; that Cæſar would always look upon him as an enemy, who having had it in his power, ſhould neglect to deſtroy his rival, although all the reſt of the world ſhould regard him as ungrateful, for refuſing to protect his benefactor. It was alſo ſuggeſted, that it would not be difficult to aſſign a religious motive for deſtroying Pompey, and to cover the cruelty of the action under that pretence; for it might be alledged, that he was ſacrificed to the goddeſs of Fortune, who had already declared herſelf adverſe to the unhappy hero; that this ſacrifice ſeemed not only to be dictated by religion, but juſtice alſo; for that protecting Pompey under ſuch circumſtances, in the kingdom of Egypt, and in the manner he wiſhed, would infallibly, by provoking the indignation of Cæſar, bring on it ruin and deſolation, and that he ought therefore to be proceeded againſt with fire and ſword, as againſt an avowed enemy of the ſtate.

LI. I aſk now, if Nicholas Machiavel, placed at the ear of the king of Egypt in that conjuncture, and under the like circumſtances, could have ſaid more? Thus there always were Machiavels, and they were always pernicious and did miſchief, when concerned in the adminiſtration of public affairs, not only to the

people at large, but moſt commonly to the princes themſelves, whoſe exaltation or ſecurity they endeavoured to promote, by the practice and adoption of impious and cruel maxims.

LII. I believe, that although all who read the relation we have juſt been diſcuſſing, will abominate the advice of Theodotus, as baſe, tyrannical, violent, inhuman, and atrocious; there are many of thoſe who attend to nothing but temporal convenience, will think it ſalutary; but obſerve, that inſtead of this, it was extremely hurtful and injurious. They perpetrated the murder of the great Pompey, by adding to the act of cruelty, another of treachery, which was coaxing him to come aſhore, by an aſſurance, that the king had engaged his royal word that his life ſhould be ſafe. What was the reſult of all this? That Ptolemy obtained the hoped for friendſhip of Cæſar? That Theodotus, Aquilas, and Photinus, were rewarded for the great ſervice they had done him, by freeing him for ever from the apprehenſion of ſo formidable an enemy as Pompey? No, nothing of this ſort fell out in conſequence of the baſe act; but it happened, that in a few days after, Ptolemy in a moſt tragical manner, loſt his kingdom and his life, and that the three authors and executors of the murder of Pompey, Theodorus, Aquilas, and Photinus, died miſerably; which conſequences are produced, either

by impious maxims tending naturally to bring on misfortunes, or by the interpoſition of the Supreme Providence, which ſuperintends and watches over human affairs, and with an eſpecial deſign, fulminates his wrath on the authors of ſuch wickedneſs, in a manner, that ſerves to make them ſcarecrows to terrify, as well as examples to warn others.

SECT. XIII.

LIII. I am fully perſuaded, that if the caſe on which the council of king Ptolemy deliberated, had been referred to the politicians of our Europe, and in our age, that not one of them would have adviſed the putting to death of Pompey; but it is likely there would have been very few of them ſo generous, as to recommend the receiving and protecting him. In truth, although not only generous, but hazardous reſolutions, may be appendages to the punctilios of princes, and may ſpring from that ſource, they are very rarely ſuggeſted to them by their counſellors. Thus, if a point of this ſort was to be diſcuſſed by the council of a king now-a-days, the conſideration of the danger of protecting Pompey on the one hand, and the ſcandal of ſacrificing him to the reſentment of Cæſar on the other, would moſt probably have determined them to purſue the middle way, of neither

ther entertaining nor injuring him, and would have left to his own election, the choice of another asylum, and to his fortune, the good or bad exit from his troubles; nor do I doubt but that in the court of Ptolemy there were some, and possibly the major part, of this opinion. Notwithstanding this, if I had been a member of that council, I should have given my vote for the most benign, not only as the most honest, but the most useful and beneficial resolve they could have fallen upon; and I even think, it would have had great weight with the king, if any one of those who assisted at it, had recommended to him the protection of Pompey, for the reasons, supported with some such arguments as follow, which altogether I shall call

A declamation on behalf of Pompey.

LIV. Whoever tells you, sir, that from an apprehension of Cæsar, you should destroy Pompey, would persuade you to fear men more than the gods. I will suppose Cæsar to be so unjust, as to be capable of thanking you for putting Pompey to death, and of being irritated against you for not doing it. This same act of flattery to Cæsar, is so palpable an offence against heaven, that he who advises you to it, cannot possibly entertain a doubt of its being such; for if he should tell you, that by such a conduct you would conform to the will of the gods, who have declared themselves

themſelves favourable to Cæſar, he would advance a ſophiſtry unworthy to be heard in ſo auguſt and ſolemn an aſſembly; for what delirium is it to imagine, that we may continue to oppreſs thoſe, who groan under the weight of adverſe fortune, upon a pretence, of co-operating with the Supreme Providence? According to this mode of reaſoning, it would be right to give a ſick man poiſon inſtead of medicine, inſtead of binding up the ſores of the wounded, to cut and ſtab him afreſh, and inſtead of ſuccouring the poor, to take from him the little he has. The gods are able to make people unhappy, for this is a prerogative annexed to their ſovereign power, which they ſometimes exert, by way of exerciſing the patience and conſtancy of thoſe they afflict, and with a view of affording to others an opportunity of manifeſting their clemency, and of adminiſtering to the misfortunes of the diſtreſſed. Thus he who lends a compaſſionate hand to aſſiſt thoſe whom the gods have thought fit to make unhappy, does not counteract their diſpenſations, but rather ſhews a compliance with, and an obedience to, the immutable principles of their laws.

LV. To inſinuate to you, in order to make Pompey a delinquent, that by ſeeking an aſylum here, he ſought the ruin of your kingdom, amounts to the ſame thing, as ſaying he meditates burning

burning the temple, who from the fury of his enemies, takes refuge at the altars of it. Pompey does not pretend to compel, but only intreats you; neither, in his intreaty, does he point out the bounds to which you ſhould extend your protection to him; nor, although he ſhould point them out, could any conſequences be deduced from thence to your diſadvantage; for that cannot take away from you, neither now, nor at any time after he ſhall have put himſelf into your hands, the right of deliberating upon, and after a juſt eſtimation of your power, your obligation, and your riſk, of determining to act by him, as the urgency of your affairs may make it neceſſary. Furthermore, if you reflect, you will find that he has a right to demand your protection, although it may be dangerous for you to afford it him. You owe to him the ſceptre you now ſway, which he reſtored to your father; nor is the probable hazard of the ſame crown, which was certainly reſtored to you, an adequate recompence to the man who reſtored it.

LVI. Having hitherto endeavoured to ſhew, that it would be juſt and right to protect Pompey; my next argument ſhall be to prove, that it would be convenient and advantageous alſo; although I am very well aware, that in the eyes of

of an ordinary politician, this will appear an extravagant paradox.

LVII. I ſhall begin with aſking, what opinion ought we to entertain of Cæſar, to think that he would look with benign eyes, and a grateful heart, on a horrible act of perfidy, although it was committed to diſincumber him of that enemy, who has already diſputed, and may perhaps contend again with him for the empire? It ſeems to me, ſir, that this is the light in which it is laboured to repreſent Cæſar to you; but if he truly is not ſuch a ſort of man, the treachery which Theodotus propoſes to you, will be very uſeleſs; but I will add, that although he is that ſort of man, you will not avoid, but rather augment the danger of loſing your crown, by being guilty of it. If Cæſar is blinded by the paſſion of ambition to ſuch an extreme degree, that it would excite him, for the ſake of gratifying it, to trample every ſort of duty and obligation under foot; this vile piece of ſervice, will not exempt or protect you from his deſpoiling you of your kingdom; his ambition, if this is his only idol, will prompt him to extend his dominion by all poſſible ways and means, whether juſt or unjuſt; and the opulent kingdom of Egypt, is not ſo contemptible an acquiſition, that an ambitious man will forbear to ſeize it,

it, for the ſake of rewarding a perfidious one with its poſſeſſion.

LVII. The worſt is, that by following the advice of Theodotus, you will furniſh Cæſar with a ſpecious pretence for uſurping your kingdom; and therefore I ſay, that ſo far from avoiding the danger of loſing it, by adopting his plan, you would increaſe the riſk. That Cæſar is very ſagacious and penetrating, is well known to all the world; and although he might be glad to hear that Pompey was put to death; after the deed was executed, he would affect to lament it. He, in appearance at leaſt, would deteſt the treachery of receiving Pompey into Egypt, under a promiſe of ſecurity upon the royal word, for the purpoſe of taking away his life. From this equivocal or critical ſtate of Cæſar's mind, there might be but a ſhort tranſition to his taking the reſolution of depriving you of your crown, and perhaps your life alſo. He might do it for the ſake of gratifying his ambition, and endeavouring to perſuade the world, that he was actuated by no other motive than that of puniſhing the treacherous murderer of Pompey; and although he might foreſee, the Romans would never believe that this was his motive; he well knows they would applaud the action, as they idolized Pompey while living, and will adore his memory when dead. Other nations,

tions, who on account of their being leſs penetrating, may not ſee into the artful policy of Cæſar, will only contemplate in your ruin, a puniſhment correſpondent to your crime, and will admire the heroic juſtice of Cæſar, who chaſtiſed the wicked act, although the commiſſion of it was never ſo convenient to him. Conſider, ſir, whether Cæſar will loſe ſo fine an opportunity of flattering the Roman people, of recommending himſelf to the world for a juſt man, and of adding to the Imperial crown he is fabricating, the precious gem of this kingdom.

LIX. We know that Cæſar, in all his actions and deſigns, has propoſed to himſelf Alexander of Macedon as the only example he would wiſh to imitate. We are informed, that having in a temple of Spain, ſeen a ſtatue of that hero, it raiſed in his imagination a contemplation of his glory, and cauſed him to ſhed tears of envy. Attend now, ſir, to what I am about to ſay to you. Immediately after Darius was defeated by Alexander in the battle of Arbela, that unhappy king, who was become a fugitive from the conqueror, was treacherouſly murdered by Beſſus the governor of Bactria, who thought by putting him to death, that he ſhould gain the favour of Alexander. But what followed? Why, that Alexander cauſed him to be arreſted, and torn to pieces

pieces by his own immediate order as ſome tell us, or as others ſay, delivered him to Oxathres the brother of Darius, to be dealt with as he thought proper. Conſider, ſir, how great an affinity there is between the battles of Arbela and Pharſalia, between the fortunes of Pompey and Darius, and between the genius and tempers of Cæſar and Alexander. How much is it to be dreaded, that if you act by Pompey, as Beſſus did by Darius, that Cæſar will do by you, as Alexander did by Beſſus? He will find himſelf preciſely in the ſame circumſtances of Alexander, and will, without doubt, be ſtrangely flattered with the idea of imitating him, and eſpecially in an action, which he knows was applauded by all the world. We find ourſelves alſo in the city of Alexandria, which was founded by, and took its name from, Alexander; and even this circumſtance, may contribute to augment your danger, becauſe, if ever he ſhould think fit to viſit this city, it would revive in his imagination the idea of its founder.

LX. I very well know, that although Cæſar ſhould be the man we have hitherto ſuppoſed him, ſtill the protection of Pompey is not free from danger. The Roman legions, in ſearch of this illuſtrious fugitive, will naturally preſent themſelves to our imagination, deſtroying with warlike fury, the country that harbours him.

But

But if, in whatever courſe we purſue, we muſt unavoidably encounter rocks and quickſands, what does human prudence dictate in ſuch a caſe? that we ſhould do what's right and juſt, and leave the event to the diſpoſal of the gods. It is beyond a doubt, that the power of Cæſar is great; but his fortune is no leſs dependant on heaven than ours, and the ray of Jupiter pays no more reſpect to the proud palace, than to the humble cabin. Thus thoſe to whom heaven is moſt propitious, are likely to be moſt ſucceſsful.

LXI. Nor need we depend ſolely for our ſecurity on the ſpecial providence of the gods, as we have reſources in the ordinary courſe of human events, and in the common influence of ſecond cauſes. Cæſar is yet at a great diſtance, and as he will have much to ſettle both in Italy and Greece, in order to ſecure the fruits of his late victory, it will be probably ſome time before he will find himſelf at leiſure to viſit Egypt. During that interval, we may be employed in modeling and diſciplining our troops; they are not few in number, and we may add new recruits to them; and to make the Egyptian troops equal to the beſt in the world, nothing more is neceſſary, than that they ſhould be properly trained, and be commanded by a good general; becauſe when we had ſuch a one in the perſon of our famous

Seſoſtris, they conquered and triumphed over the principal regions of Aſia, as the ruins of the columns that prince erected, and which time has thrown down, teſtify. Nobody diſputes Pompey's being, if not the greateſt ſoldier in the world, at leaſt equal to the greateſt. His victories have acquired him the epithet of great, which is a title Cæſar never attained. We have then in him, the general we want; nor ought his reputation to be leſſened by the victory Cæſar lately obtained over him; for beſides his commanding a motley army, collected from, and compoſed of various nations, he was but little or ill obeyed in that war; and this is an evil, for which we have a remedy in our own power, by committing the whole military government to the diſcretion and direction of Pompey. If he finds himſelf not in a condition or ſituation to attack with a proſpect of victory, he will ſtand on the defenſive, and preſerve his troops, which is the conduct he wiſhed to have purſued in Greece. We may alſo hope for many advantages from time; as in the interval of our receſs, ſuccours may arrive to Pompey from all the world; for the whole Roman empire, except the troops immediately in his pay, are enemies to Cæſar; and although we ſhould not be able to aſſemble an army, capable of reſiſting Cæſar, his ſucceſs will not be quite certain. The whole Roman republic which commands the world,

world, groans with affliction, under the intolerable ſenſation, occaſioned by the ſuppreſſion of their liberty; aud it would be very extraordinary, if among the millions of people of which it is compoſed, there ſhould not be found ſome one deſperate enough, to ſacrifice his own life, for the ſake of redeeming his country. Every man who arrives at deſpiſing, or ſetting no value on his own life, may have that of Cæſar in his power; for one concealed poignard, or one diſguiſed doſe of poiſon adminiſtered at his table, would be more dangerous and fatal to him, than fifty thouſand lances in the open field. The inſtances of Romans, who have offered themſelves voluntary victims to the idol of fame, or the good of their country, are numerous; and perhaps Cæſar at this time, has ſome one near his perſon, waiting for an opportunity to repeat the ſame ſacrifice.

LXII. There remains to us alſo another crutch of hope whereon to reſt, that is, the unwholeſomeneſs of our climate. The air of Ægypt, which is very unſalutary to the natives, is much more ſo to ſtrangers. The ſoldiers of Cæſar were born under, and have ſerved in climates, which were very different from ours. How natural then is it to ſuppoſe, that by being detained ſome time in this country, the viſitation of an epidemical diſorder may either demoliſh or incapacitate them!

LXIII. If by all, or any of theſe means, which are very probable ones, you ſhould be enabled to protect and preſerve Pompey, you would make yourſelf, ſir, the moſt glorious prince in the world. The Romans would adore you, as the vindicator and defender of their liberty, and would look upon this kingdom, as the only temple which has afforded ſanctuary to, and preſerved their idol. Other nations will applaud your generous gratitude, and ſeeing how faithfully you have behaved to your benefactor, there is no prince whatever, who will not be ready and deſirous to render you his ſervices. What you may expect from Pompey, is not in my power to expreſs, nor in my imagination to conceive.

LXIV. But admitting, ſir, that theſe well founded hopes ſhould be fruſtrated, and that heaven ſhould continue to proſper the arms of Cæſar, that Fortune ſhould regulate the motions of its inconſtant wheel, ſo as that it ſhall always turn in his favour; that we ſhould ſee the Roman legions batter down the walls of Alexandria, and afterwards be witneſſes to the demolition of thoſe of Memphis, and behold all the other cities of Lower Ægypt in danger of being deſtroyed; and that in conſequence of this, we find ourſelves under an abſolute neceſſity of capitulating with Cæſar; which

which is the greateſt difficulty and diſtreſs, to which we can be driven by Fortune; but pleaſe to obſerve, ſir, that although you ſhould be reduced to this neceſſity, you would even then find your affairs in a better ſtate, than there is any probability of your finding them, provided you follow the advice that has been given you by Theodotus. Cæſar would require you to deliver up Pompey, and it is moſt likely would offer you in return, the reſtitution of all he has conquered; for the whole country that is inundated by the Nile, would be of but little value to him, compared to the poſſeſſion of a perſon, who by a thouſand accidents, might have it in his power to overturn his whole empire. You might then make this exchange, and remain maſter of your kingdom, and might juſtify yourſelf to all the world, by pleading the hard law of neceſſity as an excuſe for what you did. But what infatuation, what madneſs would it be, ſir, for you to perſuade yourſelf, that it would be right at this time to put Pompey treacherouſly to death, without more advantage to yourſelf, than what you might obtain hereafter, by delivering him up without infamy? I have ſaid without more advantage, and I ought to add to it with greater danger. If you commit ſo baſe an action, it is probabie that Cæſar, either from motives of virtue, or excited to it by hypocriſy, will puniſh you ſeverely. If

you think him generous, you muſt conclude that he will be extremely irritated againſt you, both for your cruelty, and your ingratitude, and becauſe you offered him a provoking indignity, by ſuppoſing him capable of accepting a treachery for a compliment; and becauſe alſo, you deprived him of a precious opportunity, of manifeſting his clemency to Pompey in diſtreſs. If you conſider him only as an ambitious and profound politician, you may ſuppoſe he will act the ſame part from motives of diſſimulation, that he would have acted from motives of generoſity, and to gain credit with the world, would treat you as a delinquent. You will have none of this to apprehend, when, forced to it by neceſſity, you find yourſelf obliged to deliver up Pompey, becauſe in this laſt caſe, the reaſons for treating you in the manner we have juſt been deſcribing will not exiſt, and becauſe alſo it was never known, that Cæſar failed to preſerve the faith of his engagements, or that he treated with cruelty, thoſe he had vanquiſhed.

LXV. Nor ſhould we omit, that Cæſar's good opinion of your perſonal conduct to Pompey, may co-operate with his virtue, and have an influence on his policy. Cæſar is not ignorant, that you have always been well affected to Pompey and his cauſe, and when Cæſar finds Pompey has periſhed by your hands, he will readily conclude, that

that you would have dealt the ſame treatment to him, and with a better will, provided the victor had been the vanquiſhed. Conſider now, what ſort of an opinion Cæſar muſt entertain of you, when he reflects, that your not committing the ſame treachery by him, is owing to his fortune, and not your good-will, but that in ſpite of your malevolent diſpoſition, his fortune has inſured his ſafety.

LXVI. The arguments, ſir, with which I have proved, that without attending to the juſtice of the caſe, it was more for your intereſt to protect than to deſtroy Pompey, will ſerve to prove, that it will be more beneficial to you to entertain him than to ſend him away. The ſending him away, will not oblige Cæſar, but will offend Pompey, and will alſo make you appear ungrateful in the eyes of the whole world. Pompey driven from this coaſt, will become a wanderer by ſea and by land, in ſearch of ſome ſafe hole or corner, wherein to hide himſelf, till the deſperation of one, or the conſpiracy of many, ſhall deprive Cæſar of his life; and in all probability, it will not be long, before this contingent happens. If this event ſhould fall out, Pompey would then be maſter in much greater ſecuity than he ever was, of all that Cæſar at preſent enjoys. Conſider now, if this ſhould ever be the caſe, what you would

have reaſon to expect from his hands for driving him out of your kingdom, after he had fixed the crown on the head of your father. Cæſar while he rules, as he is not ignorant that you are diſaffected to him, will always conſider you as an enemy, who only wants power or reſolution to act openly as ſuch. The ſervice of your abandoning Pompey, will not oblige him, and will debaſe you, for he cannot fail to ſee clearly, that you did it through fear. His diſlike to you will continue, and you will add to it, his contempt and diſeſteem.

LXVII. Further, if you receive and entertain Pompey benignly, you may in conſequence of doing it, give yourſelf credit to a certain amount, for having both Pompey and Cæſar in ſome degree under your influence, Pompey, in virtue of having him within your dominions; and Cæſar, becauſe he would be diſpoſed to gtant you very advantageous conditions, to prevail on you to deliver Pompey up. But I would not have it underſtood, that I mean to recommend this, as what you ought to do; for my opinion is, that you ſhould abſolutely riſk every thing to preſerve Pompey, becauſe you owe every thing to him. This is what true virtue dictates; but the predicament we are in at preſent, is that of conſulting and conſidering, the reaſons of ſtate and policy

for

for receiving Pompey with a determination of defending him, and at the ſame time not to extend that defence ſo far as to endanger the loſs of your kingdom. It is true, this would not be doing enough to entitle you to the applauſe of the world as a generous man; but it would be ſufficient to prevent your being condemned as an unjuſt one. You would ſave your honour, and not neglect your intereſt; and the judgment of heaven, with reſpect to ſuch a conduct, would coincide with that of the world. Pompey would find himſelf under great obligations to you: Cæſar might perhaps be irritated againſt you; but the emotions of his anger, would ſoon give way to his own convenience, and even to yours. If the gods, as they are able to do, ſhould proſper our arms under the command of Pompey, all the world will reſpect your perſon, your virtue, and your power; and in ſpite of all Cæſar can do, after you have ſuſtained the loſſes enumerated, which will be ſufficient to excuſe your conduct in the eye of the world, you will at laſt, by delivering up Pompey, be able to repair all your damage.

LXVIII. This ſpeech appeared to me proper to introduce here, not only for the entertainment of the reader, but for his benefit and caution alſo; for having in this diſcourſe ſet forth ſo many maxims and examples of tyrannic policy, I

was

was apprehenſive, that ſome people of weak underſtandings, might perſuade themſelves, it would be convenient and uſeful to practiſe them, if I did not at the ſame time, together with the poiſon, adminiſter the antidote, and ſhew by ſuch an example, that the violent expedients which Machiavelianiſm propoſes as convenient, are in general hurtful and pernicious, or at leaſt inſecure and not to be relied on, and that in the very caſes in which they are repreſented to be neceſſary, there are others that might be hit upon, which would anſwer the purpoſe much better, and which would admit of reconciling the uſeful with the honeſt, provided there is an upright will to adopt them, and a clear underſtanding to ſearch out and apply them; ſo that what they call refined policy, is nothing more than a political droſs or ſcum, and the production of groſs geniuſes, who do not ſearch deeper than the ſuperficies of things. The Machiavelians, ſeldom attend to more than the immediate effect of the blow their malice meditates, without reflecting, that the political machine is many times diſpoſed to move in ſuch a variety of directions, that it often runs back on, and cruſhes him who firſt ſet it in motion. I have ſaid before, and I repeat it again, that the inſtances of perverſe politicians who have been happy for any length of time, are very few, and that thoſe few, have ſeldom been bleſſed with more than

than a tranſient ray of the ſplendor of fortune; and have been almoſt all ſhipwrecked by a ſudden change of the wind, when they thought themſelves ſailing on with a favourable gale, and in the moſt proſperous manner. What infatuation then is it, to purſue a courſe, where all the rocks in the track of it, are ſtained with the blood of unhappy ſufferers? Or who, with any reaſonable expectation of ſucceſs, can hope to make his fortune, by following and adopting the maxims of Machiavel, knowing the author of them lived poor and deſpiſed, and died miſerable and abhorred? Perhaps this impious politician, may not improperly be compared to the unhappy Phlegyas deſcribed by Virgil, who was not undeceived, till his being convinced of the deluſion he had been under could be of no ſervice to him, and who with bitter expreſſions of lamentation, and in a hideous tone of voice, proclaimed the error of his deteſtable maxims, to the whole miſerable group of the damned:

— *Phlegyaſque miſerrimus omnes*
Admonet, & magna teſtatur voce per umbras:
Diſcite juſtitiam, moniti, & non temnere Divos.

AMBITION

IN

SOVEREIGNS.

SECT. I.

I. THE moſt unjuſt adoration the world beſtows, is that which is given to, and received by conquering Princes, they being only deſerving of the public hatred; while living, mankind pay them a forced obedience, and when dead a courteous applauſe; the firſt is neceſſity, the ſecond folly.

II. What is a conqueror but a ſcourge, which the divine anger has ſent among us for our chaſtiſement?

tiſement? What, but an animated peſtilence, both to his own kingdom, and thoſe of the Princes his neighbours alſo; a malignant ſtar, which rules and influences nought but murders, robberies, deſolations, and conflagrations; a comet, which equally threatens the deſtruction of cottages and of palaces; and, to ſum up the whole, a man who is the enemy of all other men, becauſe in the proſecution of his ambitious views, he would deprive all mankind of their liberty, and take from many their lives and fortunes?

III. In this, as in many other things, I admire the ſuperior judgment of the Chineſe. Iſaac Voſſius affirms, that in the annals of thoſe people, they do not celebrate warlike, but pacific Princes; neither do they triumph in future ages, or acquire the applauſes of poſterity, who have by their arms added new dominions to the ſtate, but thoſe who have governed with juſtice and moderation the territories which deſcended to them by inheritance. This is applauding with judgment.

IV. I don't deny, that valour, military ſkill, and other endowments peculiar to conquerors, are eſtimable; but only mean to inculcate, that when they are accompanied with a tyrannic uſe, they cauſe thoſe who make ſuch an application of them, to become objects of abhorrence and deteſtation.

deteſtation. There never was any man eminent for feats of wickedneſs, who was not endued with great qualities of body and mind; at leaſt, they are rarely deficient in thoſe of robuſtneſs, induſtry, and bravery: but who, on this account, would employ himſelf in celebrating, or becoming the panegyriſt of malefactors?

V. It is not compariſon, but identity, which I mean to propound and enforce; for truly thoſe great heroes, who are ſo celebrated by the trumpets of fame, were in reality nothing better than malefactors in a high form. If I was to ſet about writing a catalogue of the moſt famous rogues who have figured on the theatre of the world, I ſhould place at the head of it, Alexander the Great, and Julius Cæſar.

VI. No one had a juſter ſenſe of his ſituation in this reſpect, nor made a more candid acknowledgment of his profeſſion and occupation, than Antigonus King of Aſia. When he was in the zenith of his conqueſts, a philoſopher dedicated a book to him which he had juſt finiſhed, the ſubject-matter of which was, an encomium on the virtue of juſtice. As ſoon as Antigonus read the title of the book, he ſmiled, and ſaid, "It is certainly very *à propos*, to dedicate a treatiſe in commemoration of the virtue of juſtice to me, who

who am robbing all the world of every thing I can."

VII. And although, neither Alexander, nor Cæsar, ever made so candid a confession, they manifested sufficiently, that they were stung with the remorse, and affected with the bitings of their own consciences. The first, shewed the influence these feelings had over him, in the instance of the temper and forbearance, with which he suffered the pirate who fell into his hands, to upbraid him with being a greater and more scandalous pirate than himself; for if Alexander had not been conscious that the man spoke truth, the consequence of his boldness would have been very terrible to him. The second displayed it, in his perplexities at the crisis of passing the Rubicon; it being most probable, that intrepid soul was not withheld so much by the contemplation of the dangerous undertaking he was going to engage in, as by the sense of the crime he was about to commit.

SECT. II.

VIII. In reality, conquering Princes are so totally bad, that they are not even good to themselves. They are bad neighbours, as is notorious; they are bad to their subjects, who in the end are equal sufferers with the others; because by the excessive

ceſſive contributions that are extorted from them, they are drained of their property, and in the obſtinate wars in which their Princes engage, are deprived of their lives. It is true they conquer; but ten battles gained coſt more men to a nation than two or three loſt. If we were to add to this, the loſs incurred in conſequence of the neglect and decay of arts, manufactures, commerce, and agriculture; at winding up the bottom you will find, that with the exception of a few military men, who have been exceedingly fortunate and ſucceſsful, or whoſe ſervices have been liberally rewarded, and alſo with that of a few others, who have enriched themſelves by plunder, or the ſpoils of their own country; the conquerors are left in as bad a ſituation as the vanquiſhed.

IX. Theſe ambitious ſpirits bring on their ſubjects another injury, which is ſufficiently ſerious, though leſs noticed than the former; and that is, that being totally occupied with the idea of aggrandizing their power by all poſſible ways and means, they do not only endeavour to augment it externally, and among ſtrangers, but alſo internally, and among their own ſubjects. They are not only deſirous of ruling over the moſt vaſſals they can, but are alſo anxious to domineer the moſt they can over their own ſubjects. It is not ſo eaſy to ſatisfy ambition in this ſecond way, as in the firſt; for

by adopting it, without an addition of ſubjects, he, who will diſembarraſs himſelf of the reſtriction of laws, may form an empire without limits; and an empire reduced to deſpotiſm, if, inſtead of eſtimating it by the number of thoſe who are to obey, you make the computation according to the number of things that may be commanded, is an infinite one.

X. Finally, conquering Princes are evils to themſelves; for as the dropſical thirſt of accumulating new ſubjects is never ſatiated, the anxieties of their hearts are never quieted: *Pluſque cupit, quo plura ſuam demittit in alvum.* Their backs are turned on all they have acquired, and they turn their eyes on what remains for them to acquire. From hence it follows, that this laſt being always in their view, has more power to inquiet their minds by irritating their appetite, than the other has to calm their ſouls by inſinuating the happineſs of poſſeſſion, and the pleaſure of enjoyment; and we may add to this anxiety, the dread of poiſon or the knife, which are the ordinary finiſhers of the lives of conquerors.

XI. There only remains to them, as the fruit of all their labours and toils, a ſingle good, which they cannot enjoy, and therefore ſhould not be reckoned to them as a benefit; that is, their names being

being celebrated in future ages; a tribute, which is paid to their aſhes by the folly of mankind, and than which no tribute is more unjuſt. If the remembrance of conquerors was to be recorded in phraſes dictated by the underſtanding, they would be deſcribed in terms of execration, not applauſe. Whoever ſets about celebrating a Nimrod, an Alexander, or a Romulus, may with equal reaſon, employ himſelf in celebrating a tiger, a dragon, or a baſiliſk. I find the ſame qualities in the three eminent heroes, as in the three furious wild beaſts, to wit, a great ſtrength and power to commit miſchief, and a great inclination to do it.

XII. I can't refrain from laughter, when I reflect on the Romans, who were maſters of the world, being vain of fixing the origin of their empire in Romulus. There was nothing in the deeds or character of this man, which could reflect luſtre on his deſcendants. If you look to his birth, you will find that his mother was nothing better than a common proſtitute. If you conſider his life and profeſſion, you will find that he was a daring and enterpriſing robber, who, being made captain of others like himſelf, erected his infamous gang into a republic. The rape of the Sabines, if the ſtory is true, proves that Romulus, and all his followers, were looked upon

as deſpicable and vile, and as a nuiſance, by all Italy, becauſe no other people choſe to give them wives, or to intermarry with them; and it was neceſſary, in order to have women, that they ſhould ſteal, and take them by violence. The life of Romulus was taken away by the ſame miniſters he himſelf had raiſed, they not being able to bear with, or endure him. But ſuch is the blindneſs of the world, that the ſame perſon who was deemed unworthy to live among men, and who was put to death on that account, is preſently afterwards placed among the deities.

XIII. Other great conquerors met with the ſame lot; they were abhorred while living, and worſhipped when dead. Nimrod was the firſt object of idolatry. They changed the name Nimrod, which ſignified rebel, into that of Bel, Baal, or Baalim, which ſignifies Lord. This is the Jupiter Belus of antiquity. Alexander fell a victim to poiſon, from the reſentment of Antipater, and preſently there were victims ſacrificed on the altars to Alexander. They had ſcarce murdered Cæſar in the capital, as an enemy to his country, when they venerated him in Heaven, as the tutelar deity of the republic. The raiſing men to the rank of deities, was a great error in the Gentiles; but the raiſing thoſe to that rank, who on account of their vices ſhould have

have been degraded from the rank of men, was a much greater.

SECT. III.

XIV. Thoſe who have a juſt idea of the Deity, cannot fall into ſo groſs an error; but we don't on that account ceaſe to err. It is true, we do not worſhip conquerors as deities, but we celebrate them as heroes. What is this, but debaſing ſo noble an epithet? True heroes are wrought and faſhioned by virtue, and therefore we ſhould reject all thoſe as ſpurious and ill-made, which are fabricated in the workſhops of ambition. A great and a bad man are contradictions in terms. Ageſilaus anſwered wiſely, to one who was extolling the greatneſs of the King of Perſia, and at the ſame time took occaſion to inſinuate a remark on the ſmallneſs of the kingdom of Sparta, compared to the Perſian empire. His reply was: *He only can be greater than me, who is better than me.* He could not have ſpoke more to the purpoſe, if he had read the celebrated ſaying of St. Auſtin, in the following words: *In his, quæ non mole, ſed virtute, præſtant; idem eſt majus eſſe, quod melius eſſe. With regard to thoſe things, which are eſtimated, not by the bulk, but by the virtue or excellence of them, that is greateſt, which is beſt.*

XV. Let a Theodoſius, a Charles the Great, a Godfrey of Bulloign, a George Caſtriotus, be celebrated as heroes; and, in fine, all thoſe in whom Fortune aſſiſted Valour, and Valour Juſtice; thoſe, who only drew their ſwords in the cauſe of Heaven, or for the good of the public; thoſe, who in wars take to themſelves the toil and the danger only, and leave untouched as the property of others, the fruits and acquiſitions; thoſe, who are pacific by inclination, and warriors through neceſſity; finally, all thoſe, who, as an example to poſterity, have by their actions, impreſſed an idea on the minds of men, that they were juſt, clement, wiſe, and animated Princes, in whoſe ſceptres juſtice reigned, and whoſe ſwords never wounded their own conſciences.

XVI. But diſcard from the ſtock of heroes, thoſe crowned Tigers called conquering Princes, and let them be numbered with the delinquents. Throw down their ſtatues, and tranſlate their images, from the Palace to the dens of wild beaſts, that the copies at leaſt may be placed among company, and in ſuch a ſituation, as ſuited the characters of the originals. I will in this place give a general trait or deſcription of all conquering Princes, which I find delineated in very lively colours, in the words of a Prince on his death-bed,

to

to whom they gave this epithet, which was William the Firſt of England.

XVII. This prince, in that laſt ſtage of life, in which a man finding himſelf on the verge of eternity, begins to ſee things in their true light; and at the period of time, when the eyes of the ſoul open, with the ſame pace with which thoſe of the body proceed to ſhut; and when the thoughts of his paſt victories gnawed his conſcience, without feeding his ambition. At this criſis, either from motives of repentance, deſpair, or from a deſire to unburthen himſelf, after reflecting with horror on the ſum of his paſt actions, in the preſencc of many nobles who ſurrounded his bed—He made this confeſſion: *I have hated the Engliſh, I have diſhonoured their Nobility, I have mortified and oppreſſed the people, and have been the cauſe of the death of infinite numbers, by famine and the ſword; and to ſum up the whole, I have deſolated this fine and illuſtrious kingdom, by the murder and deſtruction of thouſands and tens of thouſands of its inhabitants.* In theſe few lines, are painted, in their true colours, the exploits of that conqueror; and the ſame tints, would ſerve to delineate thoſe of moſt others who have been dignified with that epithet.

XVIII. I had almoſt ſaid all; for as I obſerved before, the dropſical thirſt of rule and dominion, which is a diſeaſe common to all conquerors, inclines them to aggrandiſe and extend their empire with reſpect to foreigners; and alſo, to enlarge and increaſe their power among their own ſubjects. The ambition that agitates them, not only makes them pant to beat down the boundaries of the crown, but thoſe of juſtice alſo. Not content to govern by law, they aſpire at deſpotiſm. They look upon equity as an impediment to, and a reſtriction of their grandeur, and can only find enlargements proportioned to the views of their ſouls, in tyranny. That kingdom is in an unhappy ſtate, where he who rules and preſides over it, has his head filled with this caprice. The misfortune is, that many are poiſoned with theſe notions and diſpoſitions, who are no conquerors, nor entertain the leaſt thoughts of being ſuch, unleſs it is in the ſubjugation of their own ſubjects.

XIX. This is a ſpecies of conqueſt, the moſt odious, and the moſt cheap; for it is not acquired by valour, but by craft and cunning; not by the fatigues of the field, but by the cabals of the cabinet. But notwithſtanding they conquer their own ſubjects, and render them more ſubmiſſive,

miſſive, and by binding liberty with ſtronger and heavier chains, convert vaſſalage to ſlavery; they ſhould remember, that dominion is only hereditary, for ſo long as it is conducted with juſtice; but that when it comes to be exerciſed with violence, it is uſurpation. But that is an unhappy harveſt, which ambition reaps by ſuch means. How is a Prince benefited, if, by putting the bodies of his ſubjects under a hard ſtate of ſervitude, he loſes their ſouls, and alienates their affections? He loſes the beſt part of his ſubjects, which is their love, and gets in return for it a ſmall portion more of fear; and he eſtranges from him their hearts, by oppreſſing their breaſts. He deprives himſelf of the greateſt ſweet or pleaſure of reigning, which conſiſts in ſeeing his legal commands obeyed with chearfulneſs and inclination. What delight can the proſpect of a government afford, where you contemplate every vaſſal, as a fierce animal, who ſupports with indignation the chain that confines him? What ſecurity can a Prince have againſt the invaſions of foreign powers, who has made his ſubjects diſaffected to him? Or what ſecurity againſt the intrigues and reſentment of his own people, whom, by his abſurd conduct, he has made angry, and weaned of their affections for him? The monarchs of the eaſt can beſt anſwer theſe queries, and tell, how by affecting to be ſo much the arbiters of the lives of their ſubjects,

jects, the ſubjects frequently have erected themſelves into being the arbiters of the lives of their Princes.

SECT. IV.

XX. The blame of this abuſe, whenever it happens, lies at the doors of ill-intentioned miniſters and vile flatterers. Theſe are intereſted in extending the acts of government beyond their bounds, becauſe they expect to be partakers in the ſway and emoluments reſulting from a ſtretch of power; and they endeavour to gain the favour of the Prince, by inſinuating to him, that government being all force or ſeduction, the moſt eaſy and eligible method of ruling, is by the King's pleaſure, and that this at the ſame time, would be the moſt likely means of raiſing the King's authority to the higheſt pitch of elevation and perfection. With this view, they alſo are continually repreſenting to him, that total independance is eſſential to a crown, and that laws and cuſtoms are unworthy reſtrictions upon ſovereigns; that a monarch is the more reſpectable, the more abſolute he reigns; and that the juſt medium of the King's authority, is the King's will. That the dignity of the crown is by ſo much the more exalted, by ſo much the more the people are depreſſed and kept under. And to ſum up the whole: that a King is a deity upon earth, which

maxim they enforce ſo ſtrongly, that as far as it is in their power, they would make him forget there is another ſuperior in Heaven.

XXI. A ſtory related by John Reynaldo de Segrais in his anecdotes, is very applicable to the preſent purpoſe. When Louis the XIVth of France was but fifteen years old, ſome flatterers were one day entertaining him at court, with a recital of, and endeavouring to inſtill into him, ſuch maxims of tyrannic policy as we have been juſt mentioning, though I believe if he had been five or ſix years older, the leaſt puniſhment he would have inflicted on them for it, would have been baniſhing them from his preſence and court for ever; but the want of experience, joined to his judgment not being then matured, and the ardour of his lively ſpirit, occaſioned him to liſten to them with pleaſure, as their relations were ſuited to the grandeur of his heart, and his ideas of unlimited power. Marechal d'Etré, an antient man, of great wiſdom and experience, was at the ſame time ſtanding at a little diſtance from the King, and liſtening with the higheſt indignation, to the language of thoſe flatterers. In the courſe of their converſation, they came to talk of the Ottoman Emperors, and ſpoke with great approbation of thoſe monarchs being the deſpotic maſters of the lives and fortunes of their vaſſals.

vaſſals. This is reigning in the true ſenſe of the word, ſaid Louis; they muſt certainly be happy Princes; and he ſpoke this in a manner, which indicated his good liking of that mode of government. His words pierced through the heart of the good Marechal, who, reflecting on the pernicious conſequences that would reſult from his adopting ſuch principles, advanced quickly up to the King, and intrepidly ſaid to him: *But, Sir, I muſt inform your Majeſty, that within my remembrance, two or three of theſe Emperors have been ſtrangled by the hands of their own ſubjects.* Marechal Villeroi, the worthy guardian and governor of the young King, who was at ſome diſtance, but had overheard all that paſſed; in a tranſport of joy, broke through the crowd to get at d'Etré, whom he publicly embraced, and gave him the moſt cordial thanks for ſo opportune and uſeful a caution. Would to God that there was always ready at the ſide of Princes, ſome man of ſuch generous and liberal ſentiments, to apply the antidote, when flattery in the alluring gilded cup of grandeur preſents to them the poiſon of tyranny!

SECT. V.

XXII. The tender age of Princes is the moſt ſuſceptible of imbibing ſalutary or pernicious maxims,

maxims, and the impreſſions of childhood take deep root in the ſoul, which, according to the cultivation it receives then, produces fruit in future; and it very ſeldom happens, that this rule is known to fail; for the good or bad images which are impreſſed at that time, are ſcarce ever effaced.

XXIII. Therefore the election of guardians, who are to direct and regulate the management of Princes in their infancy, is a matter of the utmoſt importance to kingdoms; and the choice of proper maxims, wherewith to inſpire their pupils, demands the moſt ſerious attention of the guardians.

SECT. VI.

XXIV. The ſoul then, in the ſtate of nonage, receiving impreſſions like wax, and retaining them like braſs; I repeat once more, that the inſpiring young people with wholeſome maxims in their tender years, is a thing of the utmoſt importance. The method of education ſhould be thus laid out: to begin with religion, to proceed next to ethics or morality, and to finiſh with politics. In theſe three parts, there is an admirable connection. Religion (which we don't ſpeak of here as a ſpecial virtue, but only with relation

to

to the firm faith contained in it, and the truths it perſuades) informs the underſtanding of the greatneſs and goodneſs of God, and diſpoſes the heart to love him. Ethics, or moral inſtruction, directs all our actions, and cauſes them to conſpire unanimouſly to promote this end, ſerving at the ſame time, as a vehicle to convey, and as an ultimate diſpoſer to the practice of the moſt ſound policy; or, to ſpeak more properly, the morality of a King, with relation to his kingly office, is no other thing but policy itſelf, taken in a general and comprehenſive ſenſe; becauſe that conſiſts, in a combination or aſſemblage of all thoſe virtues, which conduce or lead to the exerciſe of good government.

XXV. The reading of good books is very uſeful, to inſtruct Princes in the maxims of ſound policy. But which are the good books? I believe very few. Thoſe which contain ſound doctrine are infinite; but what ſignifies their informing, if they don't ſtimulate or move? The moſt difficult part of morality, does not ſo much conſiſt in coming at a knowledge of what is right, as in exciting and moving an effectual inclination to practiſe it. There are books of ſhort ſentences, and abounding with affectation, (in the ſtile of Seneca, which a certain Emperor called ſand without lime) which tingle in the ear, but their echo never

never reaches the heart. There are others, filled with texts and pulpit conceits, which, inſtead of illuſtrating, confound, and inſtead of moving, become tireſome and ſurfeiting. There are others again, which abound with the ſentences of Thucydides, Polybius, Tacitus, Livy, and Salluſt, intermixed with a number of hiſtorical paſſages. I ſhall ſay of all theſe, as Apelles ſaid of a pupil of his, who had painted Helen with very little beauty, but in a very coſtly dreſs ſtuck full of jewels: *Cum non poſſes facere pulchram, feciſti divitem. As you was unable to make her handſome, you have made her rich.* Theſe forced and unnatural ornaments, with which erudition in the books that treat of it, dreſs virtue, do not conduce to fire the minds of thoſe who read them, with the love of her. He only will accompliſh this end, who has the art of painting in lively colours her native beauty; and who has the addreſs and genius, to impreſs on the underſtanding, a clear and agreeable idea, of the magnificence of her charms.

XXVI. But better than the beſt books, is good converſation. The inſtruction which is communicated by means of the voice, is natural, that which is conveyed by writing, is artificial; the one is animated, the other dead; conſequently, the firſt will be efficacious and active, the ſecond languid

guid and faint. The tongue writes on the ſoul, as the hand on paper. That which we hear, is conveyed to us immediately and in the firſt inſtance, from the mind of him from whom the inſtruction proceeds; that which we read, is the copy of a copy. If princes in their childhood, were daily attended by diſcreet and good-intentioned people, who under the colour of amuſing and entertaining them, were to inſtruct them; any one might venture to be bound, for their future good behaviour and wiſe conduct. The learning inſinuates itſelf deepeſt, which is conveyed under the veil of diverſion; and as that nouriſhes the body beſt, which we eat with deſire and an appetite, ſo that which we liſten to with delight, is moſt improving to the ſoul. The word inſtruction is unpleaſing to children, therefore it is neceſſary as far as we are able, to take away the name, and leave or preſerve the ſubſtance of the thing; and this is much more neceſſary to be done in the caſe of Princes, becauſe from their early time of life, either their own vanity, or the flattery of other people, inſpires them with a notion, that perſons of their rank and ſtation have no need of learning. The rules of equity and civil juriſprudence, conveyed under the diſguiſe of engaging and entertaining relations of the conduct and management of juſt Princes, who by acting well, attained the accompliſhment of all their

wiſhes

wiſhes with reſpect to foreign concerns, and acquired the adoration of their own ſubjects at home, and the admiration of all ſtrangers; I ſay, if improvement was inſinuated into them in this way, by ſome perſon whoſe converſation was pleaſing to them, and who had the addreſs to introduce it, not as if he was inſtructing, but entertaining, them; it would be the beſt method of ingrafting in their minds, plants of the choiceſt quality, from whence in time you might expect to gather excellent fruit. For this reaſon, the wiſe Biſhop of Cambray compoſed for the education of the Duke of Burgundy, whoſe preceptor he was, a collection of pleaſing fables, in the ſtile and manner of ſuch tales, with which old women are accuſtomed to entertain children, and which children for their amuſement are uſed to relate to one another; in theſe, he in natural and eaſy language, ſuited to their capacities and comprehenſions, conveyed all the precepts which compoſe the moſt Chriſtian policy.

SECT. VII.

XXVII. All the leſſons however, which are given to Princes, ſhould be calculated to train them to, and make them enamoured with thoſe virtues, which may be of the moſt conſequence, and the moſt uſeful to them, both as Princes and

men; above all, regard ſhould be had, as a matter of the utmoſt importance, to implanting in them, the feelings of humanity and moderation of ſpirit, which virtues, as being diametrically oppoſite to, are the beſt counterpoiſes to the vice of ambition. Other vices may be prejudicial to themſelves, or injurious to particular individuals; but ambition, or the inordinate luſt of dominion and controul, are pernicious, and evils to a whole kingdom. There is no doubt, but an unjuſt or a cruel Prince, is extremely abhorrent, though with all this, if you attend to the miſchief theſe vices produce, you will find, that that occaſioned by ambition, far exceeds the other; for on account of its being moſt generally felt, it is by far the greateſt. Injuſtice and cruelty are exerciſed on determined individuals, but ambition oppreſſes all. Or we ſhould expreſs it better, by ſaying, the unjuſt and cruel, is cruel and unjuſt to ſome particular people; but the ambitious is unjuſt and cruel to the whole community. Theſe are the ordinary ſteps and progreſſions of ambition. It begins by injuſtice, goes on to rigour, and ends with cruelty. The Prince is unjuſt to a ſtate, who, by extending his demands beyond the limits of right reaſon, is deſirous of burthening his ſubjects more than the rules of equity permit. But what follows this oppreſſive mode of conduct? Why that the ſubjects, as ſoon as it is introduced,

duced, begin to be diſſatisfied and complain; and that the Prince, regarding their complaints and applications for redreſs, though couched in never ſo ſubmiſſive terms, as affronts and injuries, begins to direct chaſtiſements. Meaſures of rigour are now determined on; and what follows the execution of them? Why, that the clamours and complaints grow louder, and that the cries of the oppreſſed in the ears of the King, ſound like the voice of rebellion. Upon this, the rigour, under the colour of law and juſtice, is augmented, till it aſcends to the degree of cruelty; but in caſe things do not arrive at this extremity, becauſe fear ſuffocates in the breaſts of the afflicted, the voice of murmur; yet what greater torment can a man undergo, than that of ſupporting a heavy yoke on his ſhoulders, and having at the ſame time a cord drawn ſo tight round his neck, as to obſtruct the relief of a ſigh? This then being a great martyrdom, the oppreſſion which is the cauſe of it, can't fail of being a great cruelty.

SECT. VIII.

XXVIII. I am not ſurprized that ſome Princes have gone to this extreme, but rather wonder that all have not proceeded to it. The thirſty deſire of domineering, which is never ſatiated, is natural to the heart of man; and this principle which is

born with us, in Princes, is ſtimulated and inflamed by flattery. We frequently hear them addreſſed, in terms which are exquiſitely hyperbolical, ſome to blazon the perfections of their characters, others thoſe of their perſons. They repreſent to them their ſuperiority in a manner, that tends to perſuade them, they are more than men, and that other people are leſs. This oſtentatious image of grandeur is very grateful to their feelings, and therefore it is not wonderful, they ſhould ſet it up as an idol, for the people who are under them to offer as ſacrifices to, all they poſſeſs which is moſt valuable. Some politicians have thought it expedient, in order to give Princes a higher idea of their own excellence, and fill them with more exalted notions, to place flatterers about their perſons; and I have no doubt but this may be proper, when you perceive them to be very puſillanimous. But in general, the thing of moſt conſequence in their education, ought to be taking care to impreſs on their minds, ſuch maxims only, as are dictated by religion, virtue, and humanity. And this is the manner in which they ſhould be propounded to them.

XXIX. That a King is a man, as other men are, ſon like them, of the ſame common father, equal by nature, and only unequal in fortune.

XXX.

XXX. That this fortune, imagine it to be great as you will, he owes all to God, who has power to place one of another race on the throne; and no man, if he pleaſes to do it, has a right to find fault or complain of injuſtice, even though he ſhould raiſe to the rank of Majeſty a perſon of the moſt humble ſtation in the kingdom, and reduce to the loweſt claſs, him, who the day before was ſeated on a throne.

XXXI. That ſo much the greater the idea of his own grandeur is, by ſo much the greater ought his gratitude and thankfulneſs to be to the Divine Majeſty, who has conferred it upon him; and that in proportion to the ſuperiority of his rank, are his obligations to ſerve and obey God as an example to other men.

XXXII. That God did not make the kingdom for the King, but the King for the kingdom. Therefore the object of his government ſhould not be directed to ſupport his own private intereſt or convenience, but that of the republic. For this reaſon, Ariſtotle points out the eſſential diſtinction between a King and a tyrant, that the firſt only attends to his own convenience, the other to the public good.

XXXIII. That conſequently, the expreſſion uſed in edicts, that ſuch is the King's pleaſure, he having thought fit to order the thing ſpecified to be done for the advancement or good of his ſervice, ſhould be underſtood to imply, that he is pleaſed with ordaining ſuch things only as are for the good of the public. It is the duty of the ſubjects to obey the King; and it is the duty of the King to command ſuch things only, as are for the benefit and advantage of his ſubjects.

XXXIV. That as the ſubjects are obliged to obey and execute what the King is pleaſed to direct, the King is obliged to order ſuch things only as are pleaſing to God, and conſiſtent with his laws and commandments.

XXXV. That the power of ordering only what is right and juſt, does not diminiſh his authority, but rather aggrandizes it; for although it is impoſſible for God to do any act which is not right and juſt, he does not on that account ceaſe to be omnipotent.

XXXVI. That a King, having riſen to the ſummit of human glory, cannot aſcend to a ſuperior degree of altitude, but by the arduous path

of virtue; that is, he can only be greater by being better.

XXXVII. That the moſt difficult and moſt glorious part of the exerciſe of the kingly office, conſiſts, not in a Prince's conquering new kingdoms, but in his good government of that he poſſeſſes. A Courtier in the preſence of Auguſtus ſaid, that Alexander, at thirty-two years of age, upon reflecting that in a little time he ſhould ſubjugate all the world, was at a loſs to think how he ſhould employ himſelf when that was done: *Alexander at that rate*, replied Auguſtus, *muſt have been very ſimple; for the moſt arduous and difficult part of the work remained ſtill to be executed, which was, governing well the kingdoms he had conquered.*

XXXVIII. If we were to take an account of the Princes who were great warriors, and of thoſe who were eminent for their virtue, we ſhould find the number of the laſt much ſmaller than that of the firſt; ſo that although virtue ſhould not be ſo much admired in Kings as military glory, its being more ſcarce, is ſufficient to make it more valuable. Flavius Vopiſcus relates, that a buffoon, to expreſs the ſmallneſs of the number of the good Princes who had been known in the world, ſaid, the effigies of them all might be

carved on a ring. As he talked of idolatrous Kings, for he knew no others, he may be ſuppoſed to have ſpoken the truth; but things are quite otherwiſe at preſent, although the numbers of the warlike and political ones, may be reckoned in all times to have exceeded thoſe of the pious ones.

XXXIX. That as the ſubjects owe to their King their obedience and reſpect, he owes to them his tender care and protection. A King has two ſorts of children, ſome as a man, others as a Prince; thoſe of the one ſort are natural, thoſe of the other political; but they are all his ſubjects, and as ſuch he ought to love them. The inhabitants of Sichem, of whom Hamor was Prince, are called in ſcripture the children of Hamor.

XL. That this love ſhould not impede, but rather ſtimulate him to puniſh delinquents; becauſe the greateſt benefit a King can confer on his ſubjects, is to root out from among them evil-doers.

XLI. That the effects of his love ſhould be more felt by his ſubjects at large, than by his miniſters, and eſpecially thoſe who are neareſt his perſon; for to theſe, he ſhould diſpenſe the tokens

tokens of his regard, in proportion to their merit; and it is of the utmoſt importance, that he ſhould not extend his eſteem for them beyond thoſe limits. It is good that miniſters ſhould love their Prince; but I judge it would be more beneficial to the public, that they ſhould fear him. That kingdom is in a moſt happy ſtate, where the ſubjects fear the miniſters, the miniſters the King, and the King God.

XLII. Thoſe above all ſhould experience him terrible, who are found wanting to the truth in any informations they give him relating to important public affairs, or even concerning private ones; for there are few Princes, who would not wiſh to do what is moſt for the advantage of their ſubjects; but it happens, that they fail to attain this end, on account of the indirect and fallacious informations which come to their ears.

XLIII. That in order to inſure the receiving them pure, there is no other method to be purſued, but that of admitting eaſy aceſs to all men; ſome would then remove the deceptions, which others had impoſed; or no one would venture to deceive, for fear that ſome other ſhould detect him. If any one arrives at the ſole poſſeſſion of the King's ear, he, without uſing further induſtry, becomes

becomes the ſole maſter of the King and his kingdom.

XLIV. That he ſhould liſten courteouſly to all who addreſs him, but ſhould be more particularly gracious to thoſe in humble ſtations of life, becauſe theſe, as more timorous and baſhful, ſtand in moſt need of encouragement to enable them to expreſs themſelves. Auguſtus, with a moſt humane air, aſked a man who approached him with fear and trembling to deliver a petition, if he thought he was addreſſing himſelf to a lion or a tiger. This courteous manner in a Prince, beſides conciliating the love of his ſubjects, facilitates to thoſe who obtain an audience, a clear and entire expoſition of all they have to ſay; for a tremulous tongue can never articulate plainly, and fear cuts off the communication between the lips and the breaſt.

XLV. That he ſhould ſhew himſelf ſo zealous a lover of juſtice, as even for the ſake of it, to diſpenſe with his own intereſt or convenience; and he ſhould give the judges to underſtand, that whenever his concerns come in queſtion, and that any thing which is ſuppoſed to be his is claimed by one of his ſubjects, if the merits of the caſe are not on his ſide, they would not recommend themſelves to him, by pronouncing ſentence

ſentence in his favour. This was the great leſſon, which, among others, was given on his deathbed by the pious King Louis to his heir and ſucceſſor Philip. The Seneſcal Joinville, the beloved miniſter of that Prince, relates the advice to have been conceived in the following terms: *If any one ſhall have a diſpute or litigation with you, ſhew yourſelf favourably diſpoſed to the ſuit of your opponent, till the truth can with certainty be eſtabliſhed. By purſuing this method, you will enſure, that your miniſters and counſellors will always act in favour of juſtice.* A caution worthy to be written and preſerved in letters of gold.

XLVI. That whenever it is evidentally eſtabliſhed, that ſome reſolution is neceſſary to be taken for the good of the public, maugre the compaſſion, benignity, and love, which are ſo much recommended; it ſhould not be omitted to be carried into execution, on account of the complaints or injury it may occaſion to ſome particular people; for they ſometimes are not aware of the importance of the meaſure; and ſometimes it is alſo neceſſary, to ſuffer a grievance to be born by a ſmall part of a kingdom, for the good of the whole.

XLVII. That when he conſults the lawyer, the divine, or the potitician, he ſhould conceal the

the inclinations of his own mind, and hear their anſwers with perfect indifference. If he does not act thus, but on the contrary rewards him who coincides with his wiſhes, and frowns on the man who ſpeaks with chriſtian freedom and integrity; the precaution of a conſultation will not remove from him the guilt of any miſcarriage that may happen; for it is very well known, that a King is never at a loſs for politicians, divines, and lawyers, to ſay that is right and proper, which he is deſirous of doing.

XLVIII. That in the end, he muſt one day die, and that at the inſtant of his diſſolution, he muſt appear upon a level with the moſt humble ſinner of the earth before the King of Kings, to give an account of all his actions. I contemplate the appearance of a King at that tremendous tribual, in a terrible light. Private delinquents are charged with here and there a homicide, and here and there a theft; but to the account of an iniquitous King, homicides and robberies are charged by thouſands and by millions. In one unjuſt war which he commences, all thoſe who die on one ſide and the other have their deaths charged to his account, which although they ſhould be eſtimated at a few, will always be found to amount to ſeveral thouſands. All the diminutions which the ſubjects of both kingdoms ſuſtain in their properties,

perties, in order to ſupport the expences of the war, are imputed to him as the author and cauſe of the miſchief; and the number of people injured amounting to millions, the account of his injuſtices amounts to millions alſo.

XLIX. It appears juſt and proper to me, to inſtill into the minds of Princes in their tender age, theſe and ſuch like admonitions, taking care not to propound them with that dryneſs, and in the bald and naked ſhape, in which they appear in this writing; but obſerving to combine and interweave them, into ſuch converſations on political ſubjects, as may naturally preſent themſelves. In the doing this, all odious magiſterial affectation ſhould be avoided, and the inſtruction ſhould be conveyed under the form, and habited in the dreſs of rational amuſement.

L. I am not ignorant, that if Princes are puſillanimous, it will be neceſſary in various inſtances, in order to enlarge their minds, to educate them with leſs ſevere maxims; but thoſe who are appointed to inſtruct them in their youth, need not be very attentive to this conſideration; for they may naturally conclude, that when their pupils mount the throne, there will always be people enough at their elbows ready to ſupply this defect.

SECT.

SECT. IX.

LI. What we have written in this diſcourſe, if we attend preciſely to the preſent ſtate of Spain, can produce no other benefit to him who reads it, but that of an honeſt amuſement; or at moſt, can only furniſh the people here with a knowledge of ſome moral truths, the effects of which do not reach them, nor have they any experience of the conſequences reſulting from them; for neither the royal children of this day, who for the good of this kingdom proceed to grow and increaſe in virtue, nor thoſe who are appointed to inſtruct them, ſtand in need of my advice; but rather, my theory is marked out by their ſteps, and copied from their practice. Beſides, it is the general condition of all cautions and admonitions which are written to warn Princes, that they are only printed when they are not neceſſary. Nobody writes againſt tyranny, when a tyrant is ſeated on the throne; nobody againſt ambition, while an ambitious Prince reigns; nobody againſt avarice, while a covetous prince ſways the ſceptre. All maxims that iſſue from the preſs, which are oppoſite to the exiſting mode of ruling, are reputed ſatires upon government, ſo that the author by publiſhing them incurs the indignation of the Prince, and fails to benefit the public. His work

work is ſuppreſſed as offenſive, and by that means his labour is totally loſt, becauſe the fruits of it can never be enjoyed, neither then, nor in any future time.

LII. From hence it follows, that the moſt opportune time to exhibit to the world treatiſes upon juſt and right policy, is that in which ſuch policy is practiſed. It is then you ſhould ſow, for then you have a favourable proſpect, that the ſeed will produce a good crop hereafter; and even then you may enjoy the produce in part; for the reigning Prince being confirmed that the road he purſues is right, is fortified in his good purpoſes. To him ſuch doctrine ſerves as a cordial, and to future ages it acts as a preſervative.

THE VALUE OR SUPERIOR EXCELLENCE OF NOBILITY.

With ſome Remarks on the Power or Influence of HIGH BLOOD.

I. HE would do great ſervice to the nobility, who could ſeparate their vanity from their quality; for it is almoſt as difficult to find this dignity free from that vice, as it is to find ſilver in the mines without a mixture of earth. Splendour of anceſtry is a fire, which produces much ſmoke in deſcendants. There is nothing of which people ſhould be leſs vain than their high origin, and there is nothing of which they are more ſo. The beſt pens in all ages, both

ſacred and profane, have laboured to perſuade, that there is no pride worſe founded than that which is built upon high birth. The world perſeveres in its error, and there is no flattery better received, than that which compliments a man on the grandeur of his race; nor is there any adulation more hacknied and tranſcendent; to be convinced of which, you need only read epiſtles dedicatory to books. Flattery in them, commonly guides the pen, and you will hardly find one, which omits to lay great ſtreſs on the nobleneſs and antiquity of the family of the perſon to whom he conſigns the protection of his book; and they do this, becauſe it is pretty well known, there is ſcarce any man ſo candid or modeſt, as not to be pleaſed with this eulogium.

II. From hence ſpring thoſe wild and extravagant genealogies, fabricated by ſome flatterers, in order to compliment, and by that means, cultivate the favour and protection of great and powerful people. Baſil the firſt, emperor of the Eaſt, was a man of obſcure birth. The patriarch Phocio, finding himſelf out of his good graces, endeavoured to regain his favour, by forming a genealogical chain, which made him deſcended from Tiridates king of Armenia, who reigned in that country eight centuries anterior to Baſil. The deſcent which Abraham Bzovius gives to pope

pope Sylveſter the ſecond, which began in Timenus king of Argos, who flouriſhed more than a thouſand years before Chriſt, in all likelihood was not fabricated by Bzovius, but was probably found among ſome papers written in the life-time of that pope, by ſome perſon who compoſed the thing to flatter him. Roderig Flaharti wrote, a little while ſince, the hiſtory of ſome tranſactions relating to Ireland, in which he aſſigns two thouſand ſeven hundred years of antiquity to the kings of England in their poſſeſſion of the throne.

III. If you aſcend two generations anterior to Rodolfus count of Augsburg, there is no family of more doubtful origin than that of the houſe of Auſtria. Upon coming to the grandfather of Rodulfus, hiſtorians find themſelves ſurrounded with ſuch thick darkneſs, that they don't know which way to turn themſelves; nor is it a point beyond conteſt, who the grandfather of Rodulfus was. Notwithſtanding this, there have not been wanting Spaniſh hiſtorians, who, by running up the line of their anceſtors, have, without touching or tripping, traced them to the deſtruction of Troy. Penafiel de Contreras, an author of Grenada, went further than this; for, as Mothe le Vayer informs us, he fabricated a genealogical chain of one hundred and eighteen ſucceſſions, and made Philip the third deſcend in

a right line from Adam; and becauſe the duke of Lerma, Philip's favourite at that time, ſhould not be under leſs obligations to his pen, he formed another of a hundred and twenty-one from Adam to the duke, entwining the ſovereign and favourite with two kings of Troy and with Æneas, by means of their two ſons Iulus and Aſaracus, from one of which he made the king deſcend, and from the other the duke.

IV. There have not been wanting in other nations thoſe who have flattered their princes to the ſame exceſs. John Meſſanius derived the ſucceſſion of the kings of Sweden, without the leaſt interruption, from the primitive father of mankind; and William Slater did the ſame thing, in compliment to James the firſt of England.

V. Truly one would be apt to think, that ſuch fulſome incenſe muſt ſtink in the noſe of the idol to which it is offered; for Veſpaſian deſpiſed ſome flatterers, who derived him from the ſtock of Hercules; and Cardinal Mazarin treated with great ſcorn, one who traced his origin to Titus Geganius Macerinus, and Proculus Geganius Macerinus, ancient conſuls of Rome. Thus thoſe loſe the fruits of their adulation, who pour it forth without bounds.

VI. But

VI. But to return to our ſubject: I repeat, that there is no pre-eminence people have leſs reaſon to boaſt of, than that of nobility; every other is perſonal, and proper to a man's ſelf; this is derived, and may be deemed the reflection of a borrowed light. Nobility is a mere extrinſic denomination, and if you would make it an intrinſic one, it muſt be done by rational means. The virtue of our forefathers was their own, not ours; and Ovid, in the following compendious ſentence, expreſſed all that is capable of being ſaid on the ſubject:

Nam genus, & proavos, & quæ non fecimus ipſi,
Vix ea noſtra voco.

VII. It is true, that in a certain manner the excellencies of our progenitors illuſtrate us, but they illuſtrate us as the ſun does the moon, by expoſing our ſpots and blemiſhes if we degenerate from them. I have ſeen, in ſome coats of arms, ſtars quartered, which ſeems as if he who acquired this blazon gained it by his merit; becauſe, after the manner of a ſtar, he ſhone by his own light. It is probable, that in many of his ſucceſſors they ſhould take away the ſtars, and ſubſtitute moons in their places, to denote that they only ſhine like this luminary by virtue of a borrowed light. The following eulogium, which Velleius Paterculus beſtowed on Cicero,

always appeared to me extremely elegant and magnificent: *Per hæc tempora Marcus Cicero, qui omnia incrementa ſua ſibi debuit, vir novitatis nobiliſſimæ, &c.* Cicero owed all his fortune to himſelf, becauſe although he ſprung from an obſcure family, he without any other ſupport but that of his own merit aſcended to the firſt honours of Rome. I would much rather this ſhould be ſaid of me, than that I was deſcended in a right line from Auguſtus Cæſar.

SECT. II.

VIII. But there is no neceſſity for dwelling upon a ſubject which is common, and on which ſo many and ſo fine things have been written, that all I could add to them would be like contributing a ſmall fountain to the ocean, or a little ſtone to the mountain of Mercury. My intention is only to baniſh a vulgar error which is entertained of this matter, and which ferments greatly in the imaginations of people of quality.

IX. It is commonly ſaid, that good or bad blood has its occult influence on thoughts and actions, and that as in the ordinary courſe of nature the genus of the tree follows that of the ſeed, and the fruit that of the tree; ſo it is with mankind, who, according to the ſtock from whence

whence they are derived, copy after the cuſtoms and manners of their anceſtors. This prepoſſeſſion in favour of nobility is ſo general among the vulgar, that there are ſeveral adages made uſe of in their common converſation to expreſs it; and you will at every turn, when a man well born has done a bad action, hear them ſay, he has not behaved like what he is; as on the contrary, if the ſame thing is related of a poor man, they anſwer, you could not expect any better of him, conſidering from whence he ſprung.

X. If this was really ſo, the eſtimation the nobility enjoy might with great juſtice be ſaid to belong to them; but this is ſo far from being the caſe, that there is ſcarce any other erroneous opinion that has ſo many, and ſo evident teſtimonies to contradict it. In what kingdom of the world do we not at preſent ſee the ſame thing come to paſs, which formerly happened at Rome? a Cicero of obſcure extraction, ennobling himſelf and his country with illuſtrious actions; and, by way of contraſt to him, a moſt noble Catiline, debaſing himſelf and family by licentiouſneſs and treachery? or the ſame which was heretofore ſeen at Athens, a Socrates the ſon of a blackſmith, replete with virtues, contraſted with a Critias, who was the worthleſs diſciple of ſo great a maſter, and an unworthy deſcendant of a

brother of Solon's, whom neither nobility nor philoſophy, could withhold or reſtrain from behaving like a monſter, compounded or made up of abominable vices?

XI. What Plutarch ſays of the kings, who were the ſucceſſors of thoſe captains, among whom the empire of Alexander was divided, is very remarkable. What progenitors could be more illuſtrious than thoſe heroes, to whom, in a great meaſure, the Macedonian chief owed ſuch glorious conqueſts? But all the deſcendants, ſays Plutarch, of theſe generous leaders, were people of evil, and perverſe cuſtoms and manners. All? Yes, all without the leaſt reſerve: *Omnes parricidiis, et inceſtis libidinibus, infames fuere.* Let the nobility contemplate this, and then ſay, what dependence they can place on the future virtue of their race.

XII. The reflection of Elius Spartianus is ſtill ſtronger. This writer ſays, that by caſting your eyes over hiſtory, you will ſee clearly, that there is ſcarce a great man who has figured in the world, that has left a ſon who was a worthy ſucceſſor of his father, that is, one who proved equally good and uſeful to the ſtate: *Et reputanti mihi, neminem prope magnorum virorum optimum, et utilem filium reliquiſſe, ſatis liquet.* (Spartian. in vita Severi.)

XIII. There

XIII. There is no doubt but you will frequently meet in hiſtory, accounts of unworthy children, who were deſcended from good parents. Germanicus is ſo generouſly diſintereſted, that he refuſes the empire when it is offered him by the army; and his daughter Agrippina ſo determinedly ambitious, that ſhe ſacrifices ſhame, and even life itſelf, to the thirſt of dominion. Octavianus is modeſt and reſerved, and beſides poſſeſſes many other excellent qualities; his daughter Juliana, ſcandalizes Rome with her indecencies. Cicero, view him on which ſide you will, is a moſt elevated genius; the ſon, who only reſembled his father in name, was heavy, ſtupid, and a man of no other ability, but that of drinking a great deal of wine. Quintus Hortenſius, was the competitor of Cicero, in oratory, political talents, and zeal for his country; his ſon departed ſo widely from the foot-ſteps of his father, that he was in danger of being diſinherited, but, bad as the ſon was, the grandſon was ſtill worſe. Septimus Severus, with the exception of his exceſſive rigour, was an accompliſhed prince; his ſon Antoninus Caracalla, neither deſerved the name of a prince, nor to be called a man. To the prudent and wiſe Marcus Aurelius, ſucceeded the brutal and unbridled Commodus; to the glorious Conſtantine, the unworthy Conſtantius; to the magnanimous Theodoſius,

doſius, the timorous Arcadius, and the puſillanimous Honorius. But endeavouring to eſtabliſh general rules upon theſe and ſuch like examples, is giving a large ſcope to the pen.

XIV. Although we may with certainty affirm, that being allied in blood does not produce a ſimilitude of manners, as this truth is invincibly proved, by the great variance of diſpoſitions we frequently meet in brothers. If the children of the ſame father were to be like him, they would alſo be like one another. How then can we account for the great difference that is ſo frequently obſerved between them? One is courageous, another timid; one liberal, another avaricious; one ingenious, another dull; one rakiſh, another reſerved; and the ſame in every other inſtance.

SECT. III.

XV. Of this variety of defects and virtues in the ſame blood, we have a ſtriking example in the Antonian family, who were people of note and fame in ancient Rome. Marcus Antonius, called the orator, may be ſaid to be the man who raiſed this houſe; for the Antonian family, which was ſo well known in the firſt ages of Rome, became divided into two branches; the one that was called Patrician became extinct; and from

from the other, which was called Plebeian, although it is not known by what accident they fell from their ancient ſplendour, ſprung Marcus Antonius. This man, who was of humble extraction, by his rare and excellent qualities, raiſed himſelf to the firſt charges in the republic, and exerciſed them gloriouſly; but his two ſons Marcus Antonius, called Creticus, and Caius Antonius, degenerated entirely from the excellencies of their great father, and were men without virtue, without conduct, and without valour. To Marcus Antonius Creticus, ſucceeded Marcus Antonius the triumvir, in whom the vices of his father were augmented, although he inherited part of the virtues of his grandfather, for he was a good ſoldier, and no bad politician, but a glutton, a drunkard, and laſcivious, and this laſt failing, cauſed him to ſacrifice his life and his fortune to the beauty of the diſhoneſt Cleopatra. From ſo bad a father, deſcended an admirable daughter, the wife, beautiful, modeſt, prudent, and ſpirited Antonia. This eminent woman, who was beyond doubt the ornament of Rome in her day, had two ſons and a daughter, which differed as greatly in their diſpoſitions and manners, as if their blood and education had been diametrically oppoſite. Germanicus the eldeſt, turned out an able, diſcreet, mild, generous, and modeſt prince. Claudius, who was afterwards emperor, was ſo ſtupid, and differed

ſo

ſo greatly from his brother and mother, that ſhe was uſed to ſay her ſon Claudius was a monſter, for that nature had begun to make him a man, but had never finiſhed the work. Livilla, the ſiſter of theſe two, was another ſpecies of monſter, for ſhe was convicted of adultery, and murdering her own huſband. But the diſſimilitude which we have hitherto remarked among the individuals of this family, may be called trivial, compared to that which appeared between Germanicus and his ſon Caligula; the firſt, was an harmonious compound of virtues and graces, the laſt the tail or fag-end of abominations; in fine, he was ſo bad, that people were uſed to ſay, nature had made him as he was to ſhew to what a degree mankind could be formed perverſe. I have expoſed to view, the ſignal inequality, which in native diſpoſition and manners, there was between the individuls of the Antonian family, in order to illuſtrate, the little dependance that is to be placed on how the children will turn out, by conjectures, founded on the influence or example of the parents. If we were to make the ſame analyſis of other families, we ſhould find the ſame inequality with but little or nodifference.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

XVI. I am aware, however, of the argument that may be uſed in favour of the vulgar opinion. I may be told, that cuſtoms and manners are commonly derived from the genius or diſpoſition, and the genius or diſpoſition from temperament. How elſe could the conſtitution of parents be communicated to their children, by means of which communication we ſee them inherit their infirmities? In the ſame manner then, may their geniuſes and diſpoſitions be communicated.

XVII. But this argument fails in many parts of it; firſt, becauſe by the commixture of the two ſexes, which is indiſpenſable in generation, there may reſult to the children a third temperament, unlike to that of both father and mother. Secondly, becauſe it is not probable, that the ſeminal matter is in all its parts homogeneous; and to this principle, I think, ſhould chiefly be attributed the notable diſſimilarity that we find in ſome brothers. Thirdly, becauſe many different principles have their influence on the temperament; for example, the accidental diſpoſition of the parents at the time of generation, the various affections of the mother during the formation of the fœtus, the alterations of the atmoſphere in this

this period, childrens aliment in their infancy, and many other things.

XVIII. From hence I conclude, the vulgar prognoſtic, that the ſhort or long lives of children, depend upon the much or little time their parents lived, is to the laſt degree fallible and void of all probability; becauſe from all the principles we have pointed out, the temperament of the parents with reſpect to the children, may be vitiated or amended; for we every day ſee healthy children born of ſickly parents, and ſickly children born of healthy ones. It is true, that there are ſome diſeaſes which have the ſtamp or mark of hereditary ones; but I conclude, this originates, or is derived from a vitiated quality which pervades the whole ſeminal matter; but this is proper or confined to very few diſeaſes, nor is it ſo proper or certain with regard to thoſe few, as not to be many times falſified. My father was gouty, but I am not ſo, neither is any one of my brothers.

XIX. I add, that even admitting ſome communication of genius or manners from parents to children, this argument in no ſhape favours the ancient nobility, who are deſcended from a very remote origin; the reaſon is, becauſe in every generation there is a ſenſible alteration, ſufficient to introduce ſome diſſimilitude with reſpect to the immediate

immediate progenitor, and in the accumulation of many, the unlikeneſs becomes ſo great, as in a manner to efface all appearance of kindred or relation between them. What expectation then can a man entertain, of inheriting even a ſmall portion of the generoſity of his illuſtrious progenitors, the heroes from whom he derived the luſtre of his houſe, and to whom he looks up, at the remote diſtance of many centuries? By ſo many more grandfathers he reckons, by ſo many more degrees is he removed from the original generous influence. In every generation he goes on to loſe a part of it; and when they become very numerous, he at laſt arrives at loſing it intirely. It is moſt likely that the Theſpiades, or ſons which Hercules had by the daughters of Theſpis, inherited a good portion of the ſtrength of their father; and that, in the ſons of the Theſpiades, the robuſtneſs of the grandfather was more curtailed, and that the deſcendants of theſe, in the courſe of two or three generations, would come to be no ſtronger that the ordinary race of men.

SECT. V.

XX. I ſhould here conclude this diſcourſe, if none but the nobility were to read it; but as it is my intention to cure the nobles of their vanity, without exempting the humble from paying them

them all due reſpect, it is neceſſary to advert to, and guard againſt the inconvenience that may reſult from theſe laſt omitting to do it; for although it is juſt to reſtrain pride in the nobility, it is right and fit, that the common people ſhould behave to them with reſpect.

XXI. But ſtrong as the reaſons may be, which we have alledged againſt the intrinſic worth of nobility, it cannot be denied, that the authority which favours it is of more force than all our arguments. Every cultivated and well regulated nation in the world, adopts and countenances this pre-eminence, which amounts to little leſs, than its being generally aſſented to by the bulk of mankind; and a univerſal opinion, riſes ſuperior to an ordinary one, and ought to prevail againſt every thing which is not ſelf-evident, or ſupported by undeniable teſtimony.

XXII. The vanity (ſays the famous Magdalen Scudery, in the fourth volume of her Cyrus) which is derived only from our progenitors, is not well founded; but for all this, this illuſtrious chimera, which ſo ſooths and flatters the hearts of all mankind, is ſo univerſally eſtabliſhed thoughout the world, that it cannot fail to obtain veneration and regard. It is certain, that in many things common uſage hurries us on

againſt reaſon, but in others, reaſon dictates to us, that we ſhould conform to the common practice, and this is the predicament with reſpect to the ſubject we are treating of, that we find ourſelves in at preſent.

XXIII. It is however true, that I have my doubts, whether this common eſtimation of nobility has aroſe of itſelf, or whether it is derived from an adjunct quality that is annexed to it, which is power. Noblemen are generally rich, and it may be doubted, whether the adoration that is paid to this idol called nobility, was introduced by the reſpect people bore to the image or figure, or the gold of which it was made. What we ſee is, that the nobles who fall off in riches, proceed with the ſame pace that they decreaſe in theſe, to loſe the eſtimation in which they were held; and although there will always remain to them ſome reſpect, who can determine, whether this proceeds from the occult influence of their generous race, or from a common habit we are in of holding them in eſteem? It may alſo happen, that a noble reduced from opulence to poverty, may be venerated as the relic of an idol, which heretofore had been worſhiped.

XXIV. It is therefore neceſſary, to ſeek for ſome more ſolid ground than any we have hi-

therto gone over, whereon to build the eſtimation which ſhould be enjoyed by the nobility, and ſuch, no doubt, is to be found in reaſon, abſtracted from the ſupport of authority. It is a fixed maxim in ethics, that to every kind of excellence ſome honour is due; the general conſent then of mankind, the regard ſhewn them by princes, and the privileges allowed them by the laws, having placed the nobility in a degree of ſuperiority above that of other people; I ſay theſe conſiderations, ought to make us look upon nobility as a kind of excellence, to which, in conſequence of its being ſuch, we owe reſpect and honour.

XXV. And here it will be proper to remark, that this debt is not barred or cancelled by any uncertainty that may ariſe concerning the origin of thoſe who are accepted as nobles. The reaſon is, becauſe their being generally acknowledged and received as ſuch, is ſufficient to place them in that degree of ſuperiority; for we cannot require more examination of their deſcent, in order to reſpect them, than the laws require which favour them. He would be a very extraordinary man, who could arrive at giving phyſical proof of who is his father; but his not being able to do this, does not abſolve any one from the indiſpenſable obligation of reverencing the man as ſuch, who is generally eſteemed and reputed to be his father.

XXVI.

XXVI. This debt of veneration to the nobility, ſhould be underſtood in all caſes, with a reſervation of what is due, and properly appertains to virtue, which, according to the conſtant doctrine of Ariſtotle, and St. Thomas, is much more worthy of honour than nobility; therefore, even with that civil and extrinſic honour, which in their ethics thoſe two great maſters ſpeak of, we ought more to reverence a virtuous Plebeian, than a Nobleman without virtue. Our cardinal Aguirre, when he is explaining philoſophy, in the third chapter of his fourth book of ethics, ſays, that a vicious nobleman is unworthy of all honour and reſpect; to which ſentiment I ſubſcribe, becauſe it is conformable to a maxim of the angelic doctor, who (22 quæſt. 145. art. 1.) having ſaid, that honour properly and principally was only due to virtue, admits, that other qualities and excellences inferior to her, ſuch as nobility, riches, and power, are only honourable in proportion as they conduce to, and aſſiſt the operations of virtue: *Alia vero, quæ ſunt infra virtutem, honorantur in quantum coadjuvant ad opera virtutis, ſicut nobilitas, potentia, & divitiæ.* If the nobility then do not aſſiſt virtue, but rather foment vanity and nouriſh pride, by lending their ſuffrages to vices which obſtruct virtue, they

render themſelves totally unworthy of the leaſt reſpect.

SECT. VI.

XXVII. But how ſhall we reconcile what we have juſt now ſaid againſt the nobility, with what we ſaid but a little before in their favour? Eaſily, by ſaying this prerogative is not laudable, but honourable. The arguments we have juſt urged impugn its laudability, thoſe we are about to uſe are affirmative of its honour. This is a diſtinction pointed out by Ariſtotle, between virtue and all the other excellences which illuſtrate the human race. Virtue, he ſays, is laudable; riches, nobility, and power, deſerve no praiſe, but have a pretenſion to be honoured. So that there is nothing in nobility which a man ſhould boaſt or be vain of; but there is ſomething in it, which thoſe who are inferior to them in rank ſhould reverence and reſpect. This diſtinction will reconcile all difficulties, and aſſure to the nobility eſteem, without fomenting their vanity.

SECT. VII.

XXVIII. The ſubject of this diſcourſe, eſpecially that part of it which is contained in the ſecond, third, and fourth paragraphs, leads me opportunely

opportunely to baniſh an error which is exceedingly vulgarized. The world is ſo filled with the caprice of the occult influence of the blood, that many people are led away with a notion, that children by the force of it, not only inherit from thence thoſe paſſions which depend on the temperament, but alſo a propenſity for the religion of their anceſtors. They don't even ſtop here, for the lower ſort extend this influence to the milk with which children are nouriſhed in their infancy, giving credit to this ridiculous maxim, from here and there an uncertain or fabulous experiment or inſtance, ſuch for example, as a perſon when he came to the ſtate of manhood having turned Jew, which he imbibed a diſpoſition to do, by having ſucked a Jew nurſe.

XXIX. There is no error more void of all probability than this. If we ſpeak of the true religion, not only the aſſent which the underſtanding gives to its dogmas, but alſo the pious affection which precedes this aſſent, are both ſupernatural; conſequently, according to ſound theology, neither the blood nor the aliment, nor any other natural cauſe, can have connexion, either with the aſſent or pious affection. This is all the work of the divine grace, as a ſubſtitute for which, there is not the moſt remote diſpoſition to be found in the whole ſphere of nature, and you

can only admit negative natural ones, which concur merely to remove impediments, ſuch as a good underſtanding, and a good native turn of mind. But theſe good diſpoſitions, in thoſe who poſſeſs them, do not depend upon their fathers having profeſſed the true religion; for if this was the caſe, all the catholics would have good underſtandings, and would be naturally good-diſpoſed people.

XXX. The aſſent to falſe religions, is beyond a doubt abſolutely natural, becauſe error cannot be derived from a ſupernatural cauſe. Upon the whole then it is certain, that this aſſent does not depend, in any manner whatever, either on the temperament, or on the organization, which are the only things, on which the paternal ſeed, or the infant aliment, can have any influence; the reaſon is, becauſe giving aſſent to an error, depends upon the ſhape or light in which objects appear or are repreſented to the underſtanding, which in different temperaments and organizations may be the ſame, and in ſuch as are alike different. What doubt can there be, that in the great city of Conſtantinople, there are vaſt numbers of men unlike in theſe and other natural diſpoſitions? Notwithſtanding which, they have all faith in the ſame errors.

XXXI.

XXXI. He who will not yield to theſe arguments, let the experience or example of the Janiſaries convince. This military corps, who are the Grand Seignor's guards, and the beſt troops in the Ottoman empire, although they at preſent admit among them people of every nation, were originally all compoſed of the children of Chriſtians, who in their infancy were either made priſoners of war, or were paid to the Grand Seignor by way of tribute, by the poor Chriſtians who reſided in his dominions. Theſe ſoldiers, who notwithſtanding their being the children of Chriſtians, and their having been nouriſhed in their infancy with Chriſtian milk, were always as ſtaunch profeſſors of Mahometiſm as the children of the Turks themſelves; and in the wars in which they were engaged againſt the Chriſtians, ſo far was the occult influence of the blood, or the milk they ſucked, from reſtraining their arms, that they fought, I don't know whether to call it with more valour, or with more fury and rage, than the other Mahometans.

XXXII. The ſame reflection, may be made on the ſlaves which are brought from Africa to America to work in the mines, or on the ſugar plantations; for they, when educated in the Chriſtian religion, don't entertain the moſt diſtant thoughts

of returning to idolatry, which was the religion profeſſed by their anceſtors.

XXXIII. What now and then happens is, that ſome one, who in his infancy was inſtructed in a religion different from that of his parents, after being arrived at a ſtate of manhood, coming to underſtand that they profeſſed another faith, has found himſelf inclined to follow their ſteps. But it is clear, this was not produced by the ſeeds of his paternal religion which circulated within his veins, but was rather a proof, that his love and veneration for his progenitors, diſpoſed him to imitate them, and I believe it proceeds from want of reflection, that theſe examples are not more frequent, for it is natural to ſuppoſe, that the example of thoſe who gave people birth, would have more weight with thinking perſons, than that of thoſe who had deprived them of their liberty; but ſuch is the force of education, habit, and intercourſe, that they prevail over all other conſiderations and attentions.

SECT. VIII.

XXXIV. It will alſo be proper in this place, to touch on a complaint very common among poor gentlemen: Theſe frequently ſay, that now-a-days money is more eſteemed than men of family,

mily, and that riches are more reſpected than nobility. This ſentence is hardly out of their mouths, before it is followed by a deep ſigh, that ſeems to expreſs their ſorrow for the corruption of the times, which has altered and miſtaken the true value of things.

XXXV. But they are greatly deceived, who think the world ever was, or ever will be otherwiſe in this particular, for they always did, and always will, make more profeſſions of eſteem and reſpect to a rich man of humble origin, than to a poor one deſcended from an illuſtrious family. This is a conſequence attendant on, and naturally produced by the condition of humanity. Men are ſeldom obſequious or attentive to others, from mere motives of courteſy, and without an eye to their intereſts, but are generally ſolicitous to pleaſe thoſe, who have it in their power either to favour or injure them. Nobility is not an active quality, but wealth is. A nobleman, merely as a perſon ennobled, can do neither good nor harm; but a rich man, holds in one hand the thunderbolt of Jupiter, and in the other the cornucopia of Amalthea. Simonides being aſked which was moſt eſtimable, riches or learning, replied that he was puzzled to give an anſwer, becauſe he frequently ſaw the learned running to pay their court to the rich and powerful, but that he never remarked the ſame attention of the

the rich to the learned; ſo that if in thoſe ancient times the learned paid homage to the rich, what muſt the vulgar have done? Hope and fear, are the two main ſprings, which give motion to the human heart, but diſintereſted love, operates in very few individuals. There are at this day idolatrous nations, who worſhip both God and the Devil; God, that he ſhould beſtow benefits on them, and the Devil, becauſe he ſhould not injure them. He then who can neither do good nor harm, muſt expect no adoration or attention paid to him. The only and moſt effectual inſtrument wherewith to do ſervice or injury, is money; thus thoſe who are maſters of that, will alſo be maſters of, and command the common reſpect and homage. Gold is the idol of the rich, and the rich are the idols of the poor; it always was ſo, and ever will be ſo.

XXXVI. Let the neglected nobles however, comfort themſelves with the reflection, that the adoration and court which is paid to the rich and powerful, is not ſincere. The incenſe which is offered to them, does not ariſe from the fire of love, but the blaze of concupiſcence; and the breaſt is always giving the lie to whatever is pronounced by the lips. The body bends with ſubmiſſive congées, but the will does not incline or ſtoop to the idol. Obſequies, or the outward

ſhew

ſhew of reſpect, is all the invention of art, not the work of nature. What price or value can you ſet upon adulations, that are articulated by a tongue, which is the vile ſlave of intereſt? I don't deny but there are ſome men of opulence and power, who have merited their fortune; and that theſe, on account of the intrinſic worth of their good qualities, may be ſincerely and conſiſtently honoured and reſpected by good men; but ſuch as theſe are the feweſt in number, and the misfortune is, that there is no rich man whatever, who has not been perſuaded by the voice of flattery, that he is one of thoſe few.

XXXVII. It may be alſo neceſſary to apprize the complaining gentlemen, that the rich, merely as rich people, are in ſome degree intitled to the reſpect that is ſhewn them. The bleſſing of the Lord, ſays Solomon in the Proverbs, makes men rich, ſo that riches is a gift from heaven, and ſuch a gift, as according to the common eſtimation and opinion of the world, conſtitutes thoſe who poſſeſs it worthy to be honoured and reſpected. St. Thomas affirms this to be the caſe in the following ſentence: *Secundum vulgarem opinionem, excellentia divitiarum facit hominem dignum honore.* (22. quæſt. 45. art. 1.) The common eſtimation in this particular, founds a right: and although that judgment ſhould be erroneous, it would be prudent for us to wait till the world

world is undeceived, before we exempt ourſelves from conforming to the uſages of it. But this happy time will hardly ever arrive, till God, with his powerful hand, ſhall bend and incline the hearts of men to eſteem virtue, and that only; though if this happy day ſhould arrive, the nobility may probably find a falling-off in the eſtimation they are at preſent held in; for every one then, would be reſpected according to his own deeds, and not according to thoſe of his anceſtors. This mode of rating things, would be exceedingly beneficial to the ſtate; for how well would it be ſerved, and what good citizens would it conſiſt of, if there was no other road but that of virtue, whereby to arrive at the public eſteem! but as the caſe ſtands at preſent, the merit, or even the fortune of an individual, makes all his deſcendants glorious and honourable, and when thoſe who ſucceed in that line, find that by virtue of their birth the public veneration is attached to their family, great numbers of them will conſider themſelves as excuſed from negotiating it by ſome honourable application.

XXXVIII. From hence I infer, that what is ſpeciouſly urged in favour of the nobility, to wit, that it is juſt and right to reward in the deſcendants the virtue of their anceſtors, although it may

may ſound well in theory, will have but a bad effect in practice. If only perſonal virtue was to be rewarded, in the courſe of twenty deſcendants, there might probably be ten or a dozen of them, who would labour to acquire glory. But if the firſt of the twenty gains it for all the reſt, he only would be uſeful to the ſtate. He would ſerve the public, and the public would become the ſervants of all the reſt.

SECT. IX.

XXXIX. What we have juſt ſaid, was not intended as an objection againſt giving the preference to the nobility in appointments to places of dignity and honour, but was only meant, as an argument againſt their being conferred on them, as a reward for the merits of their anceſtors. I do not oppoſe the thing, but the motive for doing it; for I am rather of opinion, the public utility, the advancement of which, and not rewarding the ſervices of others, ſhould be the leading conſideration to direct in making thoſe appointments, would be better anſwered, by prefering the nobleman to the perſon of inferior rank, not only in caſes of equality of virtue between the parties, but alſo where their difference in birth is great, and the diſproportion in point of virtue but ſmall; and this, for four weighty and important reaſons.

XL. The

XL. The firſt is, you would avoid by this means, multiplying the number of priviledged perſons within a ſtate. If it was frequent and common, to fill poſts of conſequence with people of humble birth, becauſe they were virtuous and able; as from the elevation of theſe, would reſult that of their poſterity; in the courſe of a century and a half, you would create a great multitude of freſh nobility, which is extremely prejudicial to a community; becauſe in proportion as you leſſen the number of thoſe, who ſhould apply themſelves to buſineſs, and the improvement and cultivation of land; you would leſſen the aſſiſtance of uſeful people; or what is worſe, you would over-load with the burden of the others, ſuch as were dedicated to theſe employments.

XLI. The ſecond is, becauſe in poſts of dignity, a nobleman is obeyed with more reſignation, readineſs, and good-will, than a perſon of humble extraction; which is a matter of great importance in every kind of government. What diſturbances have been occaſioned, by the repugnance men find in obeying the commands of him, who they ſaw yeſterday wear a plain coarſe coat, and they ſee to-day cloath'd with purple; their obedience is ſometimes ſlow, at others ill exerted, and at others not performed at all. The love, or at leaſt the interior condeſcenſion with which

thoſe

thoſe who ſerve, obey him who commands, is extremely uſeful and neceſſary in every kind of buſineſs. Many fine projects have vaniſhed in ſmoke, becauſe the inſtruments appointed to apply the means of executing them, have, ſtimulated by an occult envy of their ſuperior, wiſhed they ſhould not ſucceed.

The want of ſufferance and condeſcenſion in the inferiors, is ſucceeded by abhorrence and hatred in him who commands, with reſpect to them; and when he and they, reciprocally come to regard each other as enemies, there is no ſort of confuſion and danger, that may not be conſidered as near at hand.

XLII. The third is, becauſe it is much more to be apprehended, that the virtue of an humble perſon is feigned, than that of a nobleman. The vice of hypocriſy may be ſaid to be allied, or in a manner annexed to narrow fortune; for poor people are under a neceſſity of concealing their defects; and are obliged, in order to better their lot, to have recourſe to the trivial expedient, of putting on the ſemblance of virtue. On the contrary, opulence and illuſtrious birth, naturally give relief and enlargement to the mind. People that are ennobled, are generally what they appear to be, becauſe neither neceſſity nor fear, obliges them to make oſtentation of virtues they do not poſſeſs.

XLIII. The fourth and laſt is, that admitting there ſhould not be the leaſt doubt of the truth and reality of an humble man's virtue, there is always great danger of his loſing it by his exaltation. Great leaps of fortune are exceedingly perilous. Thoſe from lofty ſtations downwards are very hazardous, becauſe in conſequence of them, the honour and properties of men may be daſhed to pieces; but thoſe from below upwards are more to be dreaded, for they are commonly attended with the deſtruction and loſs of the ſoul. Every virtuous man, before he is raiſed from the duſt to dignities, ſhould find ſureties for his continuing to act uprightly; for the ſoul by ſuch a tranſition, is tranſlated to a very different climate; and a very unwholeſome one for cuſtoms and manners. Many have the ſeeds of various vices ſo deeply buried in their temperaments, as even to be concealed from their own eyes, till opportunities and occaſions cauſe them to grow and ſprout out. It is rare to find a man of low extraction, who is cruel and proud; and very rare to meet with one who is covetous; for he is ſo far from being excited by vices which he has no materials to ſupply the cravings of, that he ſcarce ever thinks of them; and how ſhould he fix his attention on the ſuperfluous, who is in want of what is preciſely neceſſary for him? To find out whether ſuch a perſon

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is tainted with the two firſt vices, you ſhould place him in authority; and to diſcover whether he is infected with the third, you ſhould give him a portion of riches. In fact, theſe three vices have been moſt frequently remarked in thoſe, who were raiſed from humble to exalted fortune, although before their elevation, they did not ſhew the leaſt ſigns of being tainted with them, or any others.

XLIV. For theſe reaſons, I am of opinion, that a perſon of humble extraction, ſhould never be preferred to a nobleman or man of family, to fill poſts of dignity and honour, except, where the exceſs of virtue in the firſt ſhall be found to be very great. But in the military line, we ſhould make an exception to this rule, for valour, and ſkill in the art of war, are requiſites of great importance in executing and conducting military buſineſs; nor can they be loſt by a man's advancement, or counterfeited by hypocriſy. On the other hand, theſe endowments, for the purpoſe of exciting reſpect and obedience in thoſe who are to be commanded, ſufficiently ſupply the want of ſplendid origin in him who commands; and finally, a great warrior makes double amends to a ſtate for the injury that is ſuſtained by it, by planting therein a new ſtock of nobility. So that by adverting to theſe precautions, the four inconveniences we have pointed out would be avoided.

THE

SEMBLANCE OF VIRTUE;

OR,

VIRTUE IN APPEARANCE.

SECT. I.

I. VIRTUE and Wickedneſs fly with nearly the ſame velocity from the human eye, and are both almoſt equally concealed from the diſcernment and penetration of mankind. The firſt lies hid under the veil of modeſty, the ſecond behind the parapet of hypocriſy. The vicious diſguiſes himſelf with the colouring of virtue, the virtuous diſdains and effaces all falſe tints or gloſſes.

II. The number of hypocrites in the world is much greater than is generally imagined. There

is no vice ſo tranſcendant, for all bad people are hypocrites. This may ſeem a paradox, and you may ſay to me, are there no men who make parade and oſtentation of vice? I anſwer yes, but not of all their vices. They endeavour by their boaſting to hide their confuſion, and diſcover that part of their ſoul which they are unable to conceal. They place a crown on the image of vice, in order to give dignity to the figure; and although arrogant wickedneſs is worſe than timid, the laſt is deſpiſed, and the firſt feared. An unruly paſſion breaks down all the fences of reſerve, and the delinquent, not being able to conceal his ſhame and diſgrace by diſſimulation, endeavours by his pride and arrogance to make himſelf dreaded. This is practiſing a new hypocriſy, with which he belies and endeavours to put a trick on his own conſcience. The crime appears odious in his eyes, therefore by putting on a falſe ſemblance and air of gallantry, he attempts to dazzle the eyes of other people. To protect from public inſult, him, who is a notorious bad man, no other method is ſo effectual, as that of openly expoſing his faults to the world with daring impudence.

III. But obſerve attentively theſe very people, and you will find, that although they behave with this audacity, they at the very time they are

doing it, endeavour to conceal other vices they are infected with, and alſo to make oſtentation of virtues which they do not poſſeſs. They will own they are incontinent, prodigals, ambitious, and audacious; but they blazon their gratitude to their benefactors, their ſteadineſs in their friendſhips, and their fidelity to their promiſes. It is certain, that the vice of ingratitude is one of the moſt common and moſt vulgariſed in all the world; but with all this, you will not find any man who does not take pains to juſtify himſelf on this head; and I ſay the ſame of lying, of perfidy, and of other vices. It follows then, that upon a critical enquiry, you will not find a vicious man who is not a hypocrite. We ſhould not ſuppoſe that open and avowed profligates, or debauchees, have no other blemiſhes, than ſuch as ſhew themſelves outwardly. There is no virtue ſuch a man would not trample upon, if it was an impediment to his purſuits, nor an oppoſite vice to that virtue, which he would not employ as an inſtrument, to gratify his ruling paſſion. Do you think a very lewd man, for all the boaſtings of his innocence in matters of juſtice, and in points of *meum* and *tuum* honeſty, would not, if he found himſelf without money of his own, make uſe of that of another perſon which was confided to his keeping, to purchaſe the enjoyment of his favourite object? or that the ardently ambitious man, for all

the vociferations of his gratitude, would not turn his back on his benefactor, whenever this baſeneſs would be a means of recommending him to the good graces of one, who could advance him to a higher degree of preferment, than it was in the power of his old friend to procure for him?

IV. So that it is very rare to find a perverſe perſon, who, over and above thoſe glaring vices which manifeſt themſelves ſo palpably, is not tainted with others, which he affects to hide; and in caſe there do not predominate in him other paſſions beſides thoſe, which on account of their vehemence are ſo very conſpicuous, theſe of themſelves are ſufficient to betray him into faults, which ariſe from, and are the offspring of other diſtinct paſſions, when the committing thoſe faults is indiſpenſably neceſſary for attaining the objects or purpoſes of the ruling paſſion. Alexander in his natural diſpoſition, was certainly not a cruel man, notwithſtanding which, he was guilty of cruel actions; for ſuch were the putting to death his friend Clytus, and the philoſopher Caliſthenes. His predominant paſſions were vainglory and pride. Clytus fell a victim to the firſt, for having preferred the actions of Alexander's father Philip to his; and Caliſthenes fell a victim to the laſt, for having deterred people from idolizing Alexander as the ſon of Jupiter.

V.

V. Sometimes the falſe appearance of a vice is put on politically, or with a view of deriving ſome advantage from it. A man feigns himſelf vindictive, when in reality he is not ſo, in order that the fear of his vengeance may deter people from offending. This moſt frequently happens, when the vice affected is meritorious in the eyes of him who rules. Sejanus would never have obtained the favour of Tiberius, by appearing a lover of juſtice; nor Tigilinus, nor Petronius, that of Nero, by ſeeming modeſt and continent.

VI. It is probable, that from the motive of falling in with the humour of wayward and evil-minded princes, there have been politicians who were contradictory hypocrites, and have wore the ſemblance of vices which their natures revolted at; and what is worſe, in order to prove they were tainted with them, have put a violence on their inclinations, and although it was with reluctance, have brought themſelves to commit diſorders which their diſpoſitions abhorred. When people make a merit of delinquency, inſtead of that hypocriſy which is properly ſuch on account of its counteracting virtue, they ſtudy another which is the reverſe of it, becauſe it feigns vice.

VII. But these very persons will affect to appear sincere, constant, grateful, and men of veracity. There never was any man, who was not desirous of dissembling or concealing those vices, which were opposite to the virtues, which constitute what is commonly called a good man, and therefore, the hypocrites who affect the shew of these virtues are innumerable.

VIII. I do not deny, that a man's being more under the dominion of some vices than others, depends in a great measure on his constitution, which may be compared to a soil, where some passions take deeper root, and grow more vigorous than others. This man, without attempting to restrain it, suffers himself to be carried away by incontinence, but abhors cheating: another gives himself up to gluttony and drunkenness, but looks upon perfidy with horror and indignation. Thus it is; but his enmity to these vices, lasts no longer than till he has occasion for their assistance to indulge his passion for the others. Catiline, in the early part of his life, appeared to have no other passions than those of incontinence, ostentation, and prodigality; but these vices having reduced him to poverty, and he on that account not being able to continue his pursuits of them, formed the design of tyrannizing over

over the republic, in order to extricate himself from indigence. In consequence of this, he became ambitious, fierce, cruel, relentless, and perfidious.

IX. I am of opinion, that nobody should put much confidence in those, who are called good sort of men, if they see them much impressed with, or under the influence of particular passions. That vice which domineers over them, is to themselves the ultimate end or object, to which they direct all their attentions; or the idol, to which, if their occasions required it, they would sacrifice all other considerations. I do not pretend that there are no exceptions to this rule; the natural abhorrence of one vice, may predominate over the inclination to commit another. But I in all cases, and at all events, would sooner place my confidence in him, who from a religious fear of God has a regard to his conscience in all his actions, than in the man, who only from his natural disposition and temperament, or from a punctilio of honour, practises those virtues, which are commonly understood to constitute the character of what the world calls a good man; temperament lets go the rein, when the ruling passion becomes impetuous, and shews an eagerness to press forward; and honour loses its influence, when it is believed the commission

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of the bad act will not be known. The fear of God never ceases to operate.

X. The famous Magdalen Scudery, in her book, intituled, Moral Conversations, relates a remarkable story of a man, who risqued his life for a friend in three duels; but this friend afterwards, having occasion to beg he would lend him a small sum of money which he stood in need of, he refused to comply with his request. Who would believe, that a man who on repeated occasions, had hazarded his life for his friend, would have failed him in a thing of so much less consequence? He was both covetous and intrepid, but his avarice made him consider his life as less valuable than his money. His friendship contended with his ruling passion, and the last, as the most prevalent, pressed down and stifled the finer feelings.

XI. One of the greatest mistakes which men commit in their confidences, is that of trusting those, whom they have known to be unfaithful to others. This is an error which all men condemn, and which almost every one falls into. I confide my secret to him, who has recommended himself to my favour, by revealing that of another person. I give my friendship to the man, who in compliment to me has abandoned the patron who before protected him. This is the effect of our

love for, and the ſuperior conceit we entertain of ourſelves. Every one fancies, that he has in himſelf a moſt powerful attraction, that will keep the heart of a perſon fixed and attached to him, who has been unfaithful to other people. He thinks, that it was the power of his ſingular merit, which made the man abandon his benefactor or friend, for the ſake of allying himſelf to him. He is ſo full of his own conſequence and rare qualities, that it never enters his imagination, nor does he even harbour the leaſt ſuſpicion, that this very perſon may ſee, or pretend to ſee, a higher degree of merit in another man, to which he might make the ſame ſacrifice of his friendſhip. Princes and great men, whom the habit of being flattered is apt to make the moſt preſumptuous, are thoſe who are moſt liable to fall into this ſnare. How often do we ſee in courts, treachery rewarded with promotion! The maxim that we love the treaſon, but hate the traitor, is received by all the world in theory, but has very few votaries in practice. The traitor is diſpleaſing to him, who diſlikes the treaſon; but he who intereſts himſelf in the treaſon, looks on the traitor with favourable eyes. This is derived in a great meaſure, from calling things by wrong names. Treaſon is termed obſequiouſneſs, and a traitor called friend; and jointly with this, they are apt to interpret, that ſome honeſt motive in-

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tervened to excite to the action; and in caſe they can't find out any other than that of intereſt or convenience, they applaud the ability diſplayed in chuſing the moſt beneficial ſide. Queen Elizabeth of England was a ſtriking exception to this rule. An unfaithful Spaniard, ſold to her for a ſtipulated price, a town in the Low Countries; and after he had ſo done, to avoid the puniſhment due to his demerit, went over to, and reſided in England, where he offered his ſervice to the Queen as an able military officer; to which ſhe replied, "Go your ways, when I have occaſion for any one to commit an act of treachery, I will make uſe of you."

SECT II.

XII. The perfect hypocrites are few in number. I call thoſe perfect hypocrites, whoſe outſide is all devotion, and who within, are all baſeneſs and iniquity, or ſuch as anſwer the deſcription of the ſatyriſt:

Qui curios ſimulant, et bacchanalia vivunt:

Upon ſerious reflection, it will not appear wonderful theſe are ſo few, for notwithſtanding the road of hypocriſy is the ſhorteſt a man can purſue, to arrive at the temple of Fortune; ſtill we rarely ſee men endued with a ſufficient degree of perſeverance, to engage in ſo laborious an undertaking;

dertaking; for conceive the practice of virtue to be ever ſo arduous, the purſuit of the feigned, is much more painful than that of the true. In order to carry it on, there is need of a conſtant ſtudiouſneſs, joined to a continual anxiety, and alſo an indefatigable watchfulneſs, to ſuppreſs the ſallies of the ſoul, which without intermiſſion is making efforts to diſcloſe herſelf. There is no paſſion, which, like a wild beaſt chained, ſtrives more forcibly to break its confinement, than that of diſſimulation. The animal faculty of the heart is as plainly reflected on the countenance, as the vital is manifeſted in the artery. The tokens of their internal movements, may be compared to thoſe of a clock, which has a bell that proclaims them, and a hand that points them out. There is not a word, nor an action, if not reſtrained by a contrary impetus, which would not follow the impulſe of that animated machine. Curioſity and luſt, importune and tempt a man's eyes by turns; he is anxious to give vent to his boſom by his voice, and his brow manifeſts his impatience to do it; a pleaſant jeſt provokes to laughter; an injury calls for vengeance; and the tongue and the ear are averſe to ſilence. There is not a member which is not put under painful reſtrictions, nor a faculty that is not conſtrained, by being thus compelled to wear the forced appearance of compoſure. The ſtrings, of which

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the harmony of an exterior modeſty are compoſed, are infinite, and ought always to be kept violently on the ſtretch; the deſires alſo of poſſeſſing beloved objects, are continually tapping at the doors of the ſenſes. What force is ſufficient to reſiſt ſo many impulſes? or what addreſs, equal to managing ſo many reins at a time?

XIII. Add to this, the apprehenſion of their deceit being detected; for they look upon all the eyes that ſurround them as ſo many ſpies of their enemies; and they are very well aware, with all their caution, of the difficulty of always preſerving their ſouls impenetrable to foreign inſpection; for let them be never ſo careful in ſhutting up their windows, there will ever remain, by imperceptible omiſſions, innumerable crevices; and although they may ſucceed in deceiving the multitude, there are never wanting tranſcendent ſpirits, who can diſcern and diſtinguiſh, wherever they meet with it, the natural from the artificial. Let affectation ſtrive to imitate reality never ſo induſtriouſly, one or another will make his remarks, which, although they cannot be explained, may be conceived, and may be compared to the character of a language, which, notwithſtanding you comprehend it, you can't pronounce. The very means that are taken to conceal the ſoul, manifeſt and diſcloſe it, becauſe the reſerve

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or caution that is uſed for this purpoſe is viſible, and it is alſo viſible and well known, that innocent people have no need of this diſguiſe. Every man who uſes great circumſpection, makes himſelf ſuſpected. He who is confirmed that he poſſeſſes a good conſcience, acts and ſpeaks with openneſs; nor would it avail a hypocrite, to endeavour at imitating that native frankneſs; for he never could hit upon the true criterion of the character. Thoſe of experience and penetration, would always be able to diſtinguiſh the copy from the original; therefore I believe, that to this day, there never was a hypocrite who ſucceeded in deceiving all the world.

XIV. O how much leſs toilſome would it be, for hypocrites to tread the path of true virtue, than to purſue that of falſe! The firſt affords intervals of eaſe and tranquillity to the mind, and alſo adminiſters to it many comforts; but the fiction of virtue, demands a conſtant labour of thought, and a continual ſtretch of invention to ſave appearances. It is like a fabric built in the air, which would fall to the ground, if you neglect to keep it propped up a minute.

XV. I may be told, that with time and practice, fiction would become habitual, and then a man would find no difficulty in diſſembling. Truly I doubt

I doubt whether habit has power to effect ſo much. When art fights againſt the whole bent or force of nature, I don't think the caſe ever happened, of the firſt obtaining a complete triumph; but judge rather, that the laſt always remains with a reſidue of ſtrength, ſufficient to renew the combat. It ſometimes falls out with a conſummate hypocrite, as it happened to the cat converted to a fine lady in the fable of Æſop. She continued to ſit with much ſtudied compoſure at the table, till a rat entered the room; but inſtantly upon the animal's appearing, hurried away by that native impulſe which ſuperſedes all caution, ſhe with all her might threw herſelf on her beloved prey, and expoſed her nature to the bye-ſtanders.

XVI. But admitting, that, by long practice in deceit, a man could overcome all difficulties; this does not obviate the miſtake of the hypocrite; for with a great deal leſs labour, and in a much leſs time, he could have made virtue more familiar to him than diſſimulation. The firſt is moſt conformable to the inclination of man as a rational creature, and he only acts in contradiction to this principle as a ſenſitive one; the laſt is a violence on his nature, both as a rational and as a ſenſitive one. In a land of virtue, the ſoul may be ſaid to live at home; in that of deceit, ſhe reſides as a total ſtranger. She certainly then muſt find more

more fatigue and trouble in familiarizing herſelf to deceit, and more difficulty in making diſſimulation ſeem natural to her than virtue.

SECT. III.

XVII. There are notwithſtanding, a certain ſpecies of hypocrites, who live without fatigue, and deceive with little trouble; becauſe the appearances they wear of virtue, are partly owing to ſtudy, and partly to temperament or conſtitution. They want ſome vices, and conceal others; or the few virtues they poſſeſs, ſerve as a cloak or covering to hide greater vices. Thus it may be ſaid, that the hypocrites of whom we ſpoke before, are always labouring againſt wind and tide, and never get on, but by the force of hard rowing. Thoſe of whom we are about to ſpeak now, are frequently aſſiſted with a gale in their favour.

XVIII. Truly the pains the public take, to inform themſelves of the virtues of mankind, are very ſlight and trivial; he who ſtands unimpeached in ſome determined particulars, may eaſily diſpenſe with a great number of virtues. Emilius, for example, is regular and moderate in his diet, and is alſo modeſt in his converſation. He goes frequently to, and behaves devoutly at

church, and abſtains from all illicit commerce with the other ſex. He needs nothing more, to make his virtue conſpicuous and reverenced by the whole town; notwithſtanding this, I know that this ſame Emilius, vexes his neighbours with unjuſt and litigious proſecutions, and I alſo ſee him anxious after, and ſolicitous to acquire honours and riches by all ſorts of means. Whatever little injury he receives, is ſtamped on his memory in indelible characters; and although there is great plenty in his houſe, no poor are ever ſeen at his door. He aſſiſts with great pleaſure in all murmurs and cabals, and eſpecially if they are againſt ſome man of conſpicuous merit, who is likely to rival him in the eſtimation of the public. He favours the unjuſt pretenſions of his aſſociates and dependants; and, when applauding or condemning the actions of others is the ſubject of converſation, his tongue is always guided by his prejudices or partialities. He ſets no value on the virtues of others; and if he finds they are in any ſhape inconvenient or incommodious to himſelf, he depreciates them. I obſerve his fawnings on, and cringings to the great, and his ſlights and contempt of the poor. In fine, I don't ſee a movement in this man, that does not point directly or indirectly to his own particular intereſt, which he ſeems determined to purſue, although in the road that leads

lends to it, he ſhould trample under foot, the rights and properties of other people.

XIX. With all this, the vulgar eſteem him, as a juſt, religious, and devout man. Thoſe few virtues are a ſkreen or ſhelter to a great number of vices. Ambition, avarice, envy, malice, and hatred, have built their neſts in his breaſt; but all this is overlooked. The falſe brilliancy which glitters on the ſurface of his continence, and his temperance, dazzle the eyes of the public. This ſeems, as if the world thought all ſin conſiſted in the criminal indulgence of corporeal inclinations, and that all wickedneſs, was confined to the operation or exerciſe of two or three ſenſes. The devil is neither laſcivious, nor a glutton, nor is he capable of perpetrating either of thoſe vices, becauſe the execution of them depends on the exertion of material powers; but he does not on this account ceaſe in a moral ſenſe, to be the worſt of all creatures.

XX. The injuſtice of this opinion, and the evils ariſing from it, are moſt viſible in the other ſex. A woman by being chaſte, thinks ſhe has complied with, and fulfilled all the duties appertaining to virtue, and that, in conſequence of her poſſeſſing this ſingle good quality, ſhe may without impeachment of her conduct, be allowed to

commit every other vice with impunity. Thus having eſtabliſhed the proofs of her chaſtity, ſhe concludes ſhe has a right to be arrogant, envious, paſſionate, and proud; and there even are women, whom the confirmation of their fame in point of chaſtity has made ſavage and inſufferable. What plagues are ſuch to their poor huſbands, for they ſell them that fidelity at an exorbitant price, which they owe to them as a juſt debt. Some authors have aſſigned this, as the motive of Paulus Æmilius having procured himſelf to be divorced from his firſt wife, the noble, chaſte, beautiful, and prolific Papiria. Plutarch tells us of a Roman, who, when his friends blamed him for having got himſelf divorced from a chaſte woman of great endowments, both of body and mind, pulled off one of his ſhoes, and ſhewing it to them, ſaid, *You ſee this ſhoe is new, handſome, and well made; but perhaps that is the very reaſon why it wrings and pinches my foot.* By which he meant to inſinuate, that the accompliſhments of his wife made her proud and inſufferable.

XXI. I muſt confeſs, that I have no patience with the diſtinction the world makes between vices appertaining to the ſame ſpecies, only becauſe of the different methods which are uſed in the execution of them. He is not only eſteemed a thief, but a moſt vile and baſe man, who clandeſtinely

deſtinely enters another's houſe, and robs it of money and goods; and why does not he deſerve to be ſtigmatized with the ſame epithets, who by making an unjuſt demand, or by uſing frauds, uſurps another's property. The trader, for inſtance, who takes more than a fair profit on his goods, or deceives with regard to the quality of what he ſells; or the man in office, who demands or receives more than his due, or than his trouble deſerves; and, above all, the judge who ſuffers himſelf to be bribed; I ſay, what difference is there between this firſt and laſt claſs of people? They are all cheats and robbers; and God will puniſh them all in the ſame manner, not regarding the means they uſed to impoſe on, but in proportion to the injury they did their neighbours. Notwithſtanding all this, vaſt numbers of theſe people paſs for very good chriſtians; and not only ſo, but if they pray much, and count over many roſaries, hear maſs every day, and have the inſolence to frequent the ſacraments, they are venerated as illuſtrious patterns of virtue.

XXII. But for all theſe may appear an heterogeneous or monſtrous compound of virtue and vice, there is nothing belonging to them, which may not be ſuppoſed conformable to nature. Virtues and vices have the ſame root or origin, that is, the temperament or conſtitutions of man-

kind. Thus as there is no ſoil ſo inhoſpitable as to produce nothing but poiſonous plants, neither is there any diſpoſition ſo vitiated as to nouriſh nothing but perverſe inclinations. In no individual is nature ſuch an enemy to reaſon, as to oppoſe it in every thing. This man is urged by gluttony, but not incited by incontinence. Another burns with impatience to be rich, and knows no other happineſs than that of poſſeſſing vaſt treaſure. A third is ſwayed by pride and vain-glory; and provided he receives the homage he expects, no other paſſion diſturbs him.

XXIII. To this we may add, that vice being very ugly and deformed, every one abhors thoſe vices, that do not correſpond, or fall in with his own inclinations, and is conſequently led to admire thoſe virtues with which they are contraſted. From hence it is common for men to be reciprocally offended and ſcandalized with the actions of each other. We ſee the faults of others in their proper ſhape and colours, and our own in the deluſive form in which our appetites repreſent them to us. In the firſt we view the horrible, in the ſecond the delectable. The picture which paſſion draws of vice, reſembles that which was painted by Apelles of Antigonus. That monarch had but one eye, and the ingenious painter, to hide the blemiſh, drew him in profile,

profile, and exhibited only that part of his face in which there was no defect. Thus paſſion expoſes to our view the flattering ſide only of our own vices, and conceals the deformed, but takes a quite oppoſite method in inſpecting thoſe of other people.

XXIV. I contemplate ſometimes, but not without emotions of laughter, how the covetous man appears diſguſted with, and to nauſeate the incontinent one; and how the incontinent man, looks with horror and abomination on the avaricious one. All this happens, by the firſt not being ſtimulated by carnal deſires; and the ſecond not being diſeaſed with the dropſical thirſt of gold. Every man has his ſtrong and his weak ſide, or may be ſaid to be made of braſs in one part, and glaſs in another; but every man, by excuſing himſelf on the pretext of his own fragility, is not aware, that all others have the ſame right to diſculpate themſelves in the ſame manner; and if we were to make the proper reflection on this matter, we ſhould not be ſuch ſevere critics on the actions of our neighbours. Envy would be converted to compaſſion, and that which at preſent inflames hatred, would beget charity.

XXV. It is a common error, to apply to determined or particular ſpecies of ſins only, the

excuſe of the frailty of human nature. This frailty as tranſcendent in all the paſſions, intervenes in all kinds of ſlips. There is no vice, which has not its natural fermentation in the complexion of the individual. The diſorders which are the moſt diſtant from, or oppoſite to the reaſonable faculties, find their patronage in the ſenſible ones. I confeſs I cannot comprehend, how in our nature, there can be contained geniuſes ſo perverſe, that they ſhould take pleaſure in doing miſchief to other people, when by the act, no ſenſible good can reſult to themſelves. With all this, it is certain that there are ſuch people, and it is alſo certain, they behave in this manner, becauſe they are under the dominion of this villainous diſpoſition. But obſerve of what this frailty is compounded. If their malignant conduct did not afford them ſome conſiderable delight, they would not for the ſake of indulging it run the hazard of incurring the public hatred.

XXVI. But it is proper to remark, that theſe men of whom we have been ſpeaking, and who are compounded of virtue and vice, are not what they ſeem to be by their outſide appearance. I mean, that even the virtues they are ſuppoſed to poſſeſs, will upon enquiry be found not ſo properly to deſerve the name of virtues, as that of the mere want or abſence of vices. Obſerve

Chryſantus :

Chryſantus: he abſtains from all commerce with the other ſex; and you may be led to think, this abſtinence proceeds from virtue; but you would miſtake, for it is the effect of inſenſibility; he has no ſtimulus which incites him to deſire women, and therefore we may conclude, there is no more merit in his continence, than may be imputed to the trunk of a tree. If his abſtinence had been the effect of his fear of God, he would not have been ſo inattentive to his conſcience in other reſpects. Obſerve Aurelius: he is very ſparing and moderate in his diet, both with regard to eating and drinking. You may conclude this proceeds from temperance; no ſuch thing: Aurelius wants an appetite; the caſe of him, in this reſpect, is like that of a man in a fever, who forbears to eat, becauſe he is not able; but you ſee, he is capable of ſwallowing all the goods and money he can lay his hands on; from whence we may ſuppoſe, that if his ſtomach was as voracious as his heart, he would be another Heliogabalus.

XXVII. Theſe are hypocrites by conſtitution; and temperament compleats in them, what ſtudy does in other people; theirs is not virtue, but only the ſemblance or image of it, although it is an image which is not formed by art, but nature.

XXVIII. I have heard it ſaid, that in the court of Rome, when they deliberate about the canonization of a ſaint, the point they examine with the greateſt caution and nicety, is that of diſintereſtedneſs, but when the proof of this excellence is once eſtabliſhed, they are not ſo prolix in their other enquiries; but abſtracted from whether this is, or is not their mode of proceeding, it appears to me a very rational one on two accounts; the firſt is, that diſintereſtedneſs does not depend, or depends very little and remotely, on conſtitution; and therefore we ſhould conclude, this good quality is more an acquiſition of virtue, than a gift of nature. The ſecond is, becauſe this excellence may be ſuppoſed to imply or contain in it many others. The reaſon is, money being the means with which men gratify all their paſſions, it may be ſaid to ſerve as an auxiliary and aſſiſtant to every kind of vice; and a man's not being greedy of money, is a token that he is not greatly under the dominion of vice. Avarice is under the controul of, and made the hackney implement of all other vices. The incontinent man ſeeks money to indulge his carnal deſires; the glutton to ſatiate his intemperate and beaſtly appetite; the ambitious man to attain promotion; and the vindictive one to revenge himſelf of, and deſtroy his enemy. The ſame may be ſaid of all other things. He then who is not anxious for

money, we may conclude, is not tainted with thoſe vices; or we may at leaſt take diſintereſtedneſs, to be the beſt and moſt certain indication of virtue.

XXIX. Thoſe who are idolizers of applauſe, are not good, but great ſpirits. Enamoured with the beauty of human glory, they either are not diſeaſed or infected with the other paſſions, or diſdain to ſubject themſelves to their controul. In the republic of vices alſo, there are diſtinctions of claſſes, and ſome uſurp to themſelves, without any juſt pretenſion to it, the rank of nobility. This preſumption produces the utility, of their diſdaining to mix with others of inferior order. As one of this laſt ſort we may reckon avarice, and thus the vain-glorious man will always be upon his guard to avoid falling into this meanneſs.

XXX. I am perſuaded, that if we were to inveſtigate nicely, the cauſe or origin, of all the heroic actions that are to be met with in the profane annals, we ſhould find many more children of vice, than of virtue among them. The anxious hope of reward, has been the occaſion of winning more battles, than the love we bear to our country. How many triumphs have been owing to emulation and envy! Alexander was ſtimulated by the glory of Achilles, Cæſar by that of Alexander; and Pompey, when he gave battle,

had

had his attention more fixed on the victories of Cæsar, than the troops of the enemy. Many have done great things, from much more criminal incitements; for they have made their obsequies a ladder, wherewith to ascend to tyranny. How many have served a state, with a view of making the state subservient to themselves, and have first made it victorious, in order afterwards to enslave it! This was frequent and common among the most celebated men of Greece. For this reason, eminent services to the republic became so suspicious in Athens, that they devised the law of ostracism to punish them as crimes; and they condemned to banishment, those who distinguished themselves by their great and conspicuous actions.

XXXI. You see the same thing happen with regard to services done to private people, that you do in those rendered to a state, which is, that we frequently attribute to motives of fidelity and affection, what the person employed, executed only with an eye to his own interest; but when the dependence ceases, the real or true motive immediately displays itself.

XXXII. So that upon making a just estimate of things, we shall find, that the world is full of hypocrites; some who wear the deceitful appearance

pearance of particular virtues, and others who are diſſemblers with reſpect to all of them. The emperor Frederic the third ſaid, as we are told by Æneas Silvius, that there was not any man whatever, who had not a ſpice of the hypocrite in his compoſition.

XXXIII. We ſhould not approve, or adopt ſo ſevere a judgment; but it would be neceſſary in my opinion, that all princes ſhould partake of the doubt or diſtruſt of Frederic; for they are thoſe who are moſt abuſed by, and the leaſt aware of hypocrites. There is ſcarce any one, who lays himſelf quite open when he is before them. The ſame who are free and unreſerved among their equals, are hypocrites in the preſence of their ſuperiors; and there is hardly a man, who, prior to his appearing before the perſon who commands him, does not daub his ſoul all over with waſhes, and give falſe colourings to his ſpirit, in the ſame manner, that a ſtrumpet paints her face before ſhe goes abroad, and exhibits herſelf to public view. Momus wiſhed there was a window in the breaſt of man, whereby to diſcover the ſecrets of the boſom; but I ſhould be contented with a door, of which the owner ſhould keep one key, and his ſuperior the other. Theſe however are all flights of fancy. What reaſon dictates is, that the works of God are perfect.

SECT.

SECT. IV.

XXXIV. It would affect me much, if, becauſe I proceed to take off the mufflings and coverings of vice, the world ſhould think me one of thoſe ſuſpicious geniuſes, who will not give any perſon credit for acting from good motives, and who am always endeavouring to put ſiniſter interpretations on the cauſes of other peoples conduct. Thoſe who are intimate with me, well know, that my ſpirit is not diſeaſed with that truly malignant malady; and ſome have remarked in me a contrary defect, to wit, that of too benevolent and charitable a criticiſm on the behaviour of other men. Perhaps the experience of the deceits and impoſitions that have been put upon me, from my eaſineſs in crediting the appearances of virtue, have made theſe few reflections more obvious to me; which nevertheleſs, ſhall always reſt with me in mere theory; for I am perſuaded that in the practice, my natural genius and diſpoſition would ever prevail over them, as alſo my remembrance, that in the moral, it is better to err through compaſſion, than to do right from motives of ſpite and envy. I would wiſh to conduct my pen ſo delicately, that it ſhould wound hypocriſy, without offending charity; and I would expoſe the artifices of hypocrites in ſuch a way, as ſhould not

not alarm or disturb the quiet of the innocent and simple.

XXXV. I will also acknowledge, that as time has helped me to discover in some people many vices, which I could not have believed; it has also assisted me to discern many virtues in others, which I had no conception of. Thus the judgment of a good-intentioned man being poised in equilibrio between reason and experience, it is easy to imagine, that his genius and disposition will incline the balance to the charitable side.

XXXVI. I have taken notice of a thing which is a little remarkable, and that is, that great virtues are less perceptible than small ones. This is derived from the exercise of them not being so frequent, and the value of them not being generally understood. The going regularly to church, exterior modest deportment, taciturnity and fasting, are virtues, which strike the eyes of every one, because they are daily practised, and every body knows them. There are other virtues, that are more substantial, and which spring from more noble roots, that the vulgar are unacquainted with, because they are carried about by those who are masters of them, like ladies who go abroad *incog.* without the ostentatious parade and show of equipage. There are men (would to God there

there were more of them!) who with an open carriage, and the free correſpondence and intercourſe of an ordinary life, and who do not ſeem the leaſt ſenſible or affected with myſterious niceties, that nouriſh within their breaſts, a robuſt virtue and ſolid piety, impenetrable to the moſt furious batteries of the three enemies of the ſoul. Let Sir Thomas More, that juſt, wiſe, and prudent Engliſhman, whom I have always regarded with profound reſpect, and a tenderneſs approaching to devotion; I ſay let this man ſerve as an example to all men, and ſtand as a pattern to future ages, of all the virtues and excellencies I have been deſcribing.

XXXVII. If we view the exterior part of the life of Sir Thomas More, we only ſee an able politician, ſimple in his manners, engaged in a department of the ſtate, and attentive to the affairs of the king and kingdom, always ſuffering himſelf to be wafted by the gale of fortune, without ſoliciting honours, and without refuſing to accept of them; in private life, open, courteous, gentle, cheerful, and even fond of a convivial ſong, frequently partaking in the halls of mirth, of the jovial relaxations of the mind, and in the circulation of wit and pleaſantry; always innocent, but never ſhewing the leaſt ſymptom of auſterity. His application in literature was directed, indifferently

ferently and alternately, to the ſtudy of ſacred and profane learning, and he made great advances in both the one and the other. His great application to, and proficiency in the living languages of Europe, repreſent him as a genius deſirous of accommodating himſelf to the world at large. His works, except ſuch as he compoſed in priſon during the laſt year of his life, ſeemed more to ſavour of politics than religion. I ſpeak of the ſubject of them, not of the motive with which he wrote them. In his deſcription of Utopia, which was truly ingenious, delicate, and entertaining, he lets his pen run ſo much on the intereſts of the ſtate, as makes it ſeem as if he was indifferent about the concerns of religion.

XXXVIII. Who, in this image or deſcription of Sir Thomas More, would recognize that glorious martyr of Chriſt, and that generous hero, whoſe conſtancy to the obligations of his religon could not be bent or warped, neither by the threats or promiſes of Henry VIII. nor a hard impriſonment of fourteen months, nor the perſuaſions and intreaties of his wife, nor by the ſad proſpect of ſeeing his family and children reduced to miſery and beggary, nor by the privation of all human comfort, in taking from him all his books, nor finally by the terrors of a ſcaffold placed before his eyes? So certain is it, that the

qualities of great ſouls are not to be diſcovered, but by the touch-ſtone of great occaſions and hard trials, and may be compared to large flints, which only manifeſt their ſmooth or ſhining ſurfaces by the execution of hard blows.

XXXIX. Sir Thomas More was the ſame while he was a priſoner of ſtate, as when he was High Chancellor of England; the ſame in adverſe, as in proſperous fortune; the ſame ill treated, as in high favour; the ſame in the priſon, as ſeated at the head of the Court of Chancery; but adverſity, manifeſted and made viſible his whole heart, of which the greateſt and beſt part had before lain hid. This great man, uſed to give to his own virtues an air of humanity and condeſcenſion, which in the eyes of the vulgar abated their ſplendour; but in proportion as it obſcured the luſtre of them to their view, it augmented it in the ſight of all men of diſcernment and penetration. It once happened when he was High Chancellor, that a gentleman, who had a ſuit depending before him, made him a preſent of two ſilver bottles: it was inconſiſtent with his dignity or integrity to accept the preſent; and how did Sir Thomas conduct himſelf? Did he fall into a paſſion againſt the ſuitor for having offered an affront to his reputation? Did he puniſh the criminal audacity of the man, for attempting to corrupt and

make

make venal the functions of his duty? Did he manifeſt before his domeſtics any diſintereſted delicacy, or appear ſcandalized at the temptation? No; he did none of all this, becauſe nothing of this ſort was correſpondent to the nobleneſs or generous turn of his mind. He received the bottles with a good grace, and immediately gave orders to one of his ſervants to fill them with the beſt wine he had in his cellar, and carry them back to the gentleman, together with this courteous meſſage, *That it gave him great pleaſure to have an opportunity of obliging him, and that any ſort of wine he had in his houſe was much at his ſervice.* Expreſſing, by this prudent ſeeming inſenſibility or want of apprehenſion, that he ſuppoſed that was the purpoſe for which the gentleman ſent the bottles. In this manner, he joined integrity to gentleneſs of reproof, and correction with courteous behaviour; and by ſo much the leſs parade he made of his own purity, by ſo much the more was the confuſion of the gentleman diminiſhed.

XL. It is clear, that the heroic conſtancy with which he ſupported his adherence to his religion, was not the effect of a ſtrained violence on his nature, but proceeded from innate virtue, which acts in all things, and on all occaſions, according to the habitual diſpoſitions of the mind; for

always, to the very criſis of his ſuffering, he preſerved the native cheerfulneſs of his diſpoſition. He did not appear leſs feſtive, nor leſs tranquil in chains, than he had before appeared in the banquet room. During the time of his trial he was all compoſure, and when it was drawing near a concluſion, and thoſe iniquitous judges, who had already ſacrificed their conſciences to the will of their ſovereign, were on the point, to pleaſe and flatter him, of delivering that innocent man, as a victim to his reſentment, the barber came to ſhave him, and juſt as he was going to begin his work, Sir Thomas recollected himſelf, and ſaid *Hold; as the King and I at preſent are contending to whom this head belongs, in caſe it ſhould be adjudged to him, it would be wrong for me to rob him of the beard, ſo you muſt deſiſt.* Being about to aſcend the ſcaffold, and finding himſelf feeble, he begged one who was near to aid him in getting up the ladder, ſaying to him at the ſame time, *Aſſiſt me to get up, for be aſſured I ſhan't trouble you to help me down again.* O eminent virtue! O ſpirit truly ſublime, who mounted the ſcaffold with the ſame feſtive cheerfulneſs, that he would ſit down to a banquet! Let men of little minds and narrow ſouls contemplate this example, and learn to know, that true virtue does not conſiſt in the obſervance of forms and ſcrupulous niceties.

SECT.

SECT. V.

XLI. O how many antipodes in morality to Sir Thomas More are to be found in every ſtate! for both in the eaſt and the weſt, you will meet with many of thoſe ridiculous ſcare-crows, who lead a kind of hermetic life, and are called ſanctified or holy men; but thoſe of this day do not mortify themſelves ſo much, but offend other people more, than thoſe of former times were uſed to do. With a diſpleaſing gravity, and forbidding look that amounts to ſour ſternneſs; a converſation ſo oppoſite to the cheerful, that it borders on the extreme of clowniſh ſurlineſs; a zeal ſo harſh and ſevere, that it degenerates into cruelty; a ſcrupulous obſervance of rites and ceremonies, that approaches to ſuperſtition; and by the mere want or abſence of a few vices; I ſay, that with the help of theſe appearances, they, without more coſt or trouble, ſet themſelves up as patterns or images of ultimate perfection; and they are truly images in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word, for their whole value conſiſts in their external ſhape and figure; and I beſides call them images, becauſe they are not endued or informed with a true, but with the ſham ſemblance of a ſpirit. I repeat again that they are images, becauſe they are hard as marble, and inſenſible and unfeeling as the

trunks of trees. In the morality that directs them, gentleneſs of manners, affability, and pity, are blotted out of the catalogue of virtues. I have not even yet ſaid enough. Thoſe two ſenſible characteriſtics of charity, pointed out by St. Paul, that is to ſay, patience and benevolence, are ſo foreign to their diſpoſitions, that they are inclined to conſider them as ſigns of relaxation of diſcipline, or at leaſt of lukewarmneſs. They aſſume the figure of ſaints, without poſſeſſing more ſanctity than the ſtock or ſtone images of ſuch, and would number themſelves among the bleſſed, wanting the requiſites which the goſpel expreſſes to conſtitute them ſuch, and make them deſerving of being inſerted in that catalogue, which are meekneſs, compaſſion, and a conciliatory ſpirit. *Beati mites, beati miſericordes, beati pacifici.*

XLII. It is alſo certain, that virtue is tinctured with, or wears a different hue, according to the genius or diſpoſition of the ſubject in whom it exiſts, and on this account, in different individuals it appears in different colours. Notwithſtanding this, we ought in the mixture or combination, to diſtinguiſh what is derived ſolely from virtue, and what is produced by the intervention of conſtitution. There are men of a harſh, choleric, unpleaſant caſt of mind, who at the ſame time are virtuous; but their virtue on this account is not harſh, choleric, and diſpleaſing, but rather

rather in its operations, by means of its innate good qualities, corrects those defects. The misfortune is, that these defects of temper, confound the understanding and pervert the judgment; and in consequence of this perversion of the judgment, virtue is prevented from amending the defects of the genius. A virtuous man, who is of an impetuous, violent disposition, and inclining to the morose, when placed in command, is easily brought to think; he finds himself in circumstances where prudence dictates that he should use rigour; whereas one of an excessive gentle and mild genius, can never persuade himself that contingent is arrived. Both one and the other discharge and preserve their consciences, and the public are the sufferers by their mistakes, but in a very different degree, according to the diversity of the employments or destinations of such people. The very gentle man is most pernicious in external policy, and the rigorous in internal. An excess of clemency, and forbearing to put in execution criminal laws, in cases where the offences committed are injurious to the public at large, is a very great evil. In matters that concern the reformation, or internal amendment of souls, rigour is not only useless, but prejudicial, because the fear of temporal punishment does not make penitents, but hypocrites; it only removes the external execution of vice, and concentrates the evil intention within

the ſoul, where it produces a new ſin, in the hatred it excites againſt the judge.

SECT. VI.

XLIII. I have obſerved, that for the ſincere converſion or turning of mens hearts, benignity and gentle treatment has done miracles, in caſes where rigour has been found ineffectual. Two illuſtrious examples of this ſort, which in different ages have been exhibited on the theatre of France, occur to me at preſent. The firſt is that of Peter Abelard, a moſt ſubtle logician, and famous broacher of hereſies in the twelfth century. The adventures of this man were extraordinary, and he for the moſt part experienced adverſe fortune. He ſuffered many perſecutions, ſome of which were unjuſt ones; but neither the juſt nor the unjuſt were capable of ſubduing his mind, or mitigating the contentious vivacity of his ſpirit. His errors, after innumerable debates, were condemned by the council of Sens, at which St. Bernard aſſiſted. He appealed from the ſentence to Pope innocent the Second, who confirmed the deciſion of the council; and added to it, that his books ſhould be burnt, and the author impriſoned for life. Abelard had an infinite number of enemies, many of whom were not ſo from their zeal to religion, but from many other very different motives.

tives. As an augmentation of his misfortunes, there was ſcarce any one who did not exclaim againſt him, and cry aloud for the execution of the ſentence. In this deplorable ſituation of Abelard, there was only one man who had generoſity enough to take the favourable ſide of the queſtion, and intereſt himſelf on his behalf. This was that moſt pious and wiſe perſon St. Peter the Venerable, abbot of the great monaſtery of Cluni, who ſolicited and obtained of the Pope, Abelard's pardon. He alſo reconciled him with St. Bernard, which amounted to the ſame thing as indemnifying him againſt the public hatred. Beſides this, as a remedy for all his reverſes of fortune, he offered him an aſylum in his monaſtery of Cluni, which monaſtery received him in its arms like a loving father, and gave him the habit of a monk.

It will be proper to obſerve here, that Eloiſa, a ſenſible, beautiful, and noble French lady, was in her youth in love with, and beloved by Abelard, to ſuch an exceſs, that their love broke through all the fences of honour. Hiſtorians relate a very ſingular circumſtance of this woman, which is, that Abelard being deſirous of marrying her, ſhe, notwithſtanding her prodigious fondneſs for him, rejected the propoſal, and choſe rather to continue his concubine than be his wife, alledging

as her motive for this conduct, that ſhe would not, by her marriage, deprive the church of the great luſtre that might be reflected on it by the ſublime genius of Abelard, although in the end, ſhe, by the importunities and threats of her friends and relations, was prevailed on to eſpouſe him. She afterwards took the veil, and became an exemplary religious. She always maintained a very tender and affectionate correſpondence with Abelard, but at the ſame time in very chaſte terms, and ſuch as were conformable to the rules of virtue and decorum. As ſoon as ſhe was informed of Abelard's death, ſhe begged of St. Peter the Venerable, that he would let her have his body, that ſhe might bury it in the convent where ſhe was prelate; and the pious abbot granted her requeſt. It appears by the epiſtles of Abelard, that Eloiſa was univerſally beloved and reſpected for her virtue and diſcretion. He ſays, the biſhops loved her as a daughter, the abbeſſes as a ſiſter, and the ſeculars a mother.

The effect which this generous benignity of St. Peter the Venerable had upon Abelard, was admirable. He not only became a monk, but a moſt exemplary one, and a ſhining pattern of all kinds of virtues, of which St. Peter the Venerable gives irrefragable teſtimony in his letter to Eloiſa on the occaſion of his death, which letter is filled with the

the higheſt eulogiums on the virtues of Abelard. He ſays in one part of it, that he does not remember to have ſeen a man ſo humble as him; and in another, that it was matter of admiration, to obſerve a perſon ſo famous and of ſo great a name, have ſo lowly an opinion of himſelf. In another, he ſays, his underſtanding, his tongue, and his works, were always employed on celeſtial objects. And in another, he compares him to the great Gregory in the following words: *Nec (ſicut de magno Gregorio legitur) momentum aliquod prætcrire ſinebat, quin ſemper aut oraret, aut legeret, aut ſcriberet, aut dictaret.* Theſe eulogiums are confirmed, and if poſſible exceeded, in the Chronicle of the Monaſtery of Cluny, which ſays, that, from the time of his taking the habit of a monk, his thoughts, words, and actions, were always divine: *Et deinde mens ejus, lingua ejus, opus ejus, ſemper divina fuere.*

XLIV. So that this man, who could not be made to bend to the moſt learned men of France, who were engaged in continual controverſies with him; nor to the force of the civil power, exerted againſt him various times at the inſtance of his enemies; nor to the eccleſiaſtical prelates, nor to the authority of a council, nor to the zeal and learning of a St. Bernard: This man, I ſay, on whom all theſe exertions had no influence, ſubmitted

mitted to the gentle, compaſſionate, and benevolent ſpirit of St. Peter the Venerable. The eſtimation and tenderneſs, with which this ſaint always regarded Abelard after his converſion, was very great, as is evident from two epitaphs he wrote to grace his tomb. I ſhall inſert a part of each of them here, by which may be ſeen the high opinion he entertained of the learning and wiſdom of this eminent man.

First Epitaph.

Gallorum Socrates, Plato maximus Heſperiarum,
Noſter Ariſtoteles, Logicis, quicumque fuerunt,
Aut par, aut melior, ſtudiorum cognitus orbi
Princeps, ingenio varius, ſubtilis, & acer.

Second Epitaph.

Petrus in hac petra latitat, quem mundus Homerum
Clamabat, ſed jam ſidera ſidus habent.
Sol erat hic Gallis, ſed eum jam fata tulerunt:
Ergo caret Regio Gallica ſole ſua.
Ille ſciens quidquid fuit ulli ſcibile, vicit
Artifices, artes abſque docente docens.

XLV. The ſecond example, which is ſtill more ſtriking and illuſtrious than the firſt, is that of the Huguenots in the reign of Charles the ninth, in the dioceſe of Liſieux in Normandy. The learned Dominican John Henuyer, who had been confeſſor

confeſſor to Henry the ſecond, was biſhop of that dioceſe, when orders came from the king to the governor of Normandy, to put to the ſword all the Huguenots of that province. The venerable prelate oppoſed the execution of the order as far as it related to his own dioceſe efficaciouſly, by declaring that he would ſooner ſubmit his own throat to the knife, than conſent to the death of thoſe heretics, whom he had always conſidered as ſheep of his flock, although they had gone aſtray; and uſed ſuch other arguments, as prevailed on the governor to ſuſpend the execution of the orders; and the king, moved with the firmneſs and zeal of the pious biſhop, revoked the decree with reſpect to the Huguenots of that biſhopric. The hand of Omnipotence heaped bleſſings on the paternal affection which biſhop Henuyer manifeſted to his flock, and on the pious exertion he made to ſave their lives at all events; and (O wonderful to relate!) in none of the other parts of France, where rivers of Huguenot blood had been ſpilt in the execution of the king's orders, was the hereſy extinguiſhed; but on the dioceſe of Liſieux only, did God confer this great bleſſing. The experience of the paternal bowels and feeling of their prelate for them, made ſuch an impreſſion on the hearts of the Huguenots of that diſtrict, that they all, without a ſingle exception, became converts to the catholic faith. Thus does benignity triumph

triumph over the moſt ſtubborn hearts, when managed and conducted with a pious zeal and conſummate prudence.

SECT. VII.

XLVI. But to return to our ſubject, as all that was introduced in the preceding ſection was by way of digreſſion: I ſay, that among the groupe of thoſe ſevere ſaturnine geniuſes, of whom we were juſt before ſpeaking, are to be found the worſt ſpecies of hypocrites. I ſpeak of thoſe cenſurers of other people's conduct and behaviour, who pretend to do it out of zeal, and to promote the welfare of thoſe they fall upon. Theſe act as if they were miniſters veſted with full powers from Hell, or were a *quid pro quo* of the Devil, becauſe their whole occupation is pointing out the ſins of mankind; a race ſo diabolical, that they are at variance with their neighbours, and friends with their vices. They pretend they love the firſt, and abhor the laſt, but it is quite the reverſe. They are always buſied in throwing biting reflections on their neighbours, and at the ſame time licking their chops with a longing deſire to taſte of their ſins. There is no news ſo pleaſing to them, as this or that perſon having made ſuch and ſuch a ſlip. This is their

favourite

favourite little aliment, becauſe it affords pabulum to feed and nouriſh their malevolence.

They exclaim furiouſly, and with all their might, againſt ſinful and ſenſual practices, and wreck their inventions for hyperboles to exaggerate the wickedneſs of them; and after they have glutted their revenge on a miſerable individual they have been abuſing, they direct the rage of their thunder againſt the public at large, and cry out, The people are all going the high road to perdition: God defend us, ſure the like never was ſeen! Their daily text is the *O tempora! O mores!* of Cicero. The matter of their ordinary converſations is truly and properly matter, as it is all putrefaction and corruption; for they talk of nothing but turpitudes and uncleanneſs. They reſerve for their own uſe and purpoſes Satan's Gazette, where the news is diſtributed in articles and paragraphs received from different quarters; as for example: "We hear by an expreſs arrived from ſuch a ſtreet, dated ſuch a day of the month, which was brought by an herb woman, that Mr. A—— has made great advances in his negotiations with Madam B——; and although in the beginning he met with ſome difficulties, by propoſing more advantageous and agreeable terms, he was at laſt admitted to a private audience." In this manner it proceeds to give an account of various

various other matters, and always, as is cuſtomary, tells us ſomething about the court; as for inſtance: "His majeſty Pluto and all his family, although they cannot fail to be incommoded with the exceſſive heats which prevail in his territories, continue for all that to paſs their time very jollily, by the entertainment they find in hunting all ſorts of ſins, which is a game that is found in great abundance in every quarter of his infernal majeſty's dominions." But to be ſerious: Thoſe who blazon or aggravate the vices that are moſt frequent or prevailing in a place or town, do a great injury which they are not aware of, which is removing from many a certain impediment, which withholds or reſtrains them from falling into thoſe very vices. When ſpeaking of the vice of incontinence for example, a man exclaims, "The city in this reſpect is in a total ſtate of depravity; that the diſſoluteneſs which pervades it is horrid and unbridled; that already, with a little reſerve, or without any at all, you can ſcarce find a man that is continent, or a woman that is chaſte; and truly this is the vice, againſt which they moſt frequently make ſuch declamations. Some hear this, who till then had entertained no ſuch idea of the thing, and who were continent from the apprehenſion of being expoſed, and the fear of being repulſed by this or that woman. This, to thoſe who are withheld from being incontinent, principally

cipally or ſolely by the ſhame of being remarked, or that of being ignominiouſly repulſed, takes away in part, or removes totally, the chief impediment which reſtrained them from ruſhing into criminal amours. If all, ſays each of theſe to himſelf, or nearly all the men in the town, are guilty of this vice, my ſhare of diſgrace by falling into it will be but ſmall, as I ſhall only bear my proportion as one among ſo large a number; and if all, or nearly all the women, are diſpoſed to be lewd and wanton, it will rarely happen that I ſhall meet with one that will not yield to my ſolicitations. Some, from not foreſeeing the inconvenience, are betrayed into this abſurdity by their zeal, and commit the miſtake with the beſt intentions. I have many times heard preachers exclaim with great fervour, that the town is filled with ſcandals and turpitudes; that there is ſcarce a houſe, which in every corner of it is not burning with the infernal fire of luſt. I entreat moſt earneſtly all thoſe who exerciſe this ſacred function, and God is the judge of the ſincerity and pious intention with which I make the requeſt, that they would abſtain from ſuch-like declamations, for the miſchief they produce, is greater than the benefits which are derived from them.

XLVII. But to reſume the thread of our diſcourſe, what we have juſt finiſhed ſaying being rather an addition to, or digreſſion from, our main or principal ſubject. The hypocrites we mentioned laſt, are ſuch as conceal their malice under the cloak or pretence of zeal; but there are others, who are ſuch at their own expence, becauſe in order to appear virtuous they puniſh themſelves, by abſtaining from many things their appetites prompt them to deſire; whereas all the coſt of the firſt ſort, is defrayed at the expence of their neighbour's honour. It is true that this rule admits of ſome exceptions, for there are thoſe ſo malignant, who, to wound with certainty another's fame, would many times commit a violence on their own inclinations. They would abſtain from the external exerciſe of thoſe vices which they point out in others, be it ever ſo painful to them, in order that they may cenſure them with the greater freedom. Unhappy paſſion! Deteſtable hypocriſy!

SECT. VIII.

XLVIII. There remains for us to ſay ſomething on two particulars, by the intervention of which, vice is frequently reverenced as virtue: The

The firſt is the exterior reſemblance of certain vices to certain virtues; for as every virtue is placed between two vicious extremes, many of theſe laſt wear the appearance of the firſt. Thus prodigality often paſſes for liberality, raſhneſs for valour, obſtinacy for firmneſs, cunning for prudence, and puſillanimity for moderation. It is alſo the ſame with reſpect to many other things.

XXIX. The ſecond is, the material commiſſion of an act, abſtracted from the turpitude of the end it was done to anſwer. If we were to explore the motives that intervene in an infinite number of actions, which are right to outward appearance; we ſhould perceive, they were derived from indirect principles, and performed to anſwer perveſe purpoſes. It is very common for one vice to be an obſtacle to the external operation or execution of another. This man is continent to avoid ſpending his money; that, becauſe he is terrified by the danger of the enterprize. In the firſt, continence is the child of avarice; in the ſecond, of puſillanimity. This one puts on the ſhew of humility, becauſe he is a candidate for favour and promotion; another, to avoid the expoſing himſelf to a quarrel. In the firſt, humility ſprings from

ambition, in the ſecond it is derived from cowardice. Much more might be ſaid on theſe two heads; but, as the ſubject matter of them has been largely treated of in various other books, we ſhall reſt the thing here, and content ourſelves with the ſlight obſervations we have already made.

END OF VOL. I.

ERRATUM.

P. 11. l. 1. *read* matter; for he declares,